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JPRS Report

East Europe

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4 JUNE 1987

EAST EUROPE

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INTERNATIONAL TU MEETING ON NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES

AU052033 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 5 May 87

["Working People and Trade Unions in Defense of Peace"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 May (BTA)--The working people throughout the world are greatly alarmed by the growing threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe. This is why they declare themselves for the peaceful co-existence among states of different social orders and for the joining of the efforts of all progressive people in the struggle for the preservation of peace and for the strengthening of security, regardless of ideological differences.

Representatives of 31 trade union organizations of 26 states of different parts of the world, as well as of five international organizations, who took part in today's regional meeting of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (the Dublin Committee), discussed the possibilities for setting up zones free of nuclear weapons. They exchanged opinions and ideas on the role of the working people and of the trade unions in the establishment of such zones and assessed the possible favorable consequences of the declaration of such zones.

The participants discussed the example of the Balkans in this field and stressed the interrelation between the establishment of nuclear-free zones and the struggle of the peace-loving forces in the world for banning all mass annihilation weapons.

The meeting stressed the positive socio-economic consequences which the reduction of armament expenditures will have for all peoples.

The participants in the meeting adopted a declaration which says that nuclear-free zones mean greater security and greater possibilities for economic and cultural contacts and that they would contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. "The events taking place in the Balkans are hope-inspiring. Thanks to the unflagging efforts of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans is no longer only a good intention but is gradually turning into a political reality," the document reads.

The declaration also stresses that the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles in Europe would be a great success in the process of nuclear disarmament and that this would be to the benefit not only of the Europeans but of the working people throughout the world as well.

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 5 May, in reporting the same event in its newscast, adds the following:

"The delegates listened with great attention to the greetings message of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, which was delivered by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov.

"He stressed that this international meeting is a further confirmation of the striving and desire of the workers of all countries to preserve peace. The policy of the Bulgarian Trade Unions is consistent and clear--for a Balkans free of nuclear and chemical weapons, for a Balkans of good-neighborliness and cooperation. That is our unchanging line, and we will work to implement it, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov said."

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CSO: 2200/92

NEW ANTI-BULGARIAN CAMPAIGN ALLEGED

AUG81416 [Editorial Report] SOFIA ANTENI in Bulgarian Issue No. 18 on 6 May publishes on pages 12 a 2000-word article by Emil Burdarski entitled "The Slanderers at Work Again." Burdarski describes the re-emergence of an alleged coordinated anti-Bulgarian and anti-Soviet campaign in the western media, aimed at "impressing the idea on the trusting television viewer and reader that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are involved in terrorism and its associated drugs and arms trafficking."

Burdarski bases his article on incomplete, undated references to a number of items from the western press and television, including a reference to "the claims of the French television station Antenne-2" that the four members of action direct arrested "a few weeks ago" "were connected with certain socialist countries, among which Bulgaria was not the least important." However, Burdarski mainly deals with "an extensive article (totaling about 7 pages) in one of the recent issues of the JOURNAL EXPRESS" written by Brian Crozier, "one of the aces of anticommunist propaganda and diversion," and entitled "Narcotics: The Soviet Connection." According to Burdarski, Crozier's article describes an alleged Warsaw Pact plot dating from 1962 "to systematically use narcotics to paralyze the western world." Burdarski claims that Crozier's "slanders" are mainly based on "two sources whose unreliability was revealed long ago," namely Pernik, who "conceitedly claims to have been a colonel in state security." Burdarski goes into the background of these two alleged informants, trying to demonstrate their unreliability, and then attempts to refute several of the detailed allegations made in Crozier's article concerning Bulgaria's involvement in smuggling and in the attempt on the life of Pope Paul II.

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CSO: 2200/92

DYULGEROV SPEECH AT ASSEMBLY SESSION

AUC50611 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Apr 87 p 3

[Report on speech by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, at the fourth session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 29 April]

[Text] Petur Dyulgerov, people's representative and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, began his speech in the following manner: We are discussing a document of historic importance--the Declaration on Placing Socialist Property Under the Management and Administration of the Labor Collectives. This act is the cumulative expression of the revolutionary transformations that are taking place in our country. Its historic importance is determined by the fact that it profoundly affects the economic foundations of society, reforms the entire system of social relations, and fills the new type of democracy with concrete content, the core of which is self-management.

In his speech at the 10th Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions Comrade Todor Zhivkov explained the political, economic, and social purpose of this act and the great impetus it will have for the renewal of our society. It is a step that will have a key role in creating a direct and strong economic connection between the labor collective and the working man on the one hand, and the means of production on the other, thus achieving a fundamental turning point in socialist management on the basis of interests. What I mean, comrades, is a change which is deeply inherent in the nature of socialism and which offers the working people power, rights, and opportunities, which imposes on them new obligations to use, preserve, and enhance socialist property, so that their own needs and needs of society may be better satisfied.

The issue of owning and using property, and disposing of it, is a basic one. The correct solution of it determines our rate of advance and the success of our programmatic goals. And vice versa--to underestimate it means to create complicated and sharp contradictions and halt development. This issue has therefore always been in the center of the party thought and tactics.

The most important thing is to make the way we manage and administer socialist property a lever to stimulate activity, interest, and initiative on the part of the working people, and encourage them to use equipment and materials efficiently. Life has shown us that under socialism production relations have not

been established once and for all; they have not stagnated. On the contrary, if we do not perfect them constantly, they will enter into a state of contradiction with the development of production capacities and could halt social progress. Consistently implementing its April general line, our party has constantly improved the management of socialist property. As a result, our country has successfully solved the tasks of socialist construction as they fell due and our achievements in all areas of life are significant. They speak for themselves.

Now, however, we need a much higher degree of activity and initiative on the part of the working people in order to solve the issues of new qualitative improvement on the basis of the scientific-technical revolution. However, this activity cannot be achieved with the previous methods of managing and administering socialist property, as they have exhausted their historical possibilities. We must objectively advance toward new principled ways of management, which will link the use and development of socialist property in firm unity, in the interest of the collectives and the working people. Thus our party noticed that the only way to solve this cardinal issue is to place socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives, without which they cannot become its real and interested managers. The party consistently created the necessary conditions for advancing toward this revolutionary act.

Therefore we have every justification for saying that the declaration of the National Assembly we are now discussing solves the issues of the strategic essence of socialist development in our country. These are issues related to the technological modernization of production and the transition to self-management, and in dealing with them we are required to activate the human factor and increase its basic role, the speaker stressed further.

The adoption of this declaration will undoubtedly create a favorable social climate for implementing this major undertaking--to put socialist property into the hands of the labor collectives. Such a political act is necessary in order to give the radical renewal processes a powerful impetus from part of the supreme organ of the people's power, and to open a broad road for these processes.

Placing socialist property in the hands of the labor collectives essentially means giving these collectives power, something which ensures the implementation of restructuring "from the bottom to top." This is the transforming power of the great deed we are undertaking. It means turning the interests of the working people into the driving force of restructuring and of new qualitative growth. This is the correct and necessary approach which will activate the creative energy of millions of people and will ensure the pressure from below which is so necessary for every revolutionary deed. Thus, the changes will start from the labor collective and the self-managing organization, while all management organs and structures management will act according to the collectives' status as managers. We can be sure, comrades, that when the process of renewing our society is placed on such a broad foundation and when it is directly connected with the interests of the people, it will overcome bureaucratic and conservative forces and will become a power and an irreversible process.

Practice convinces us that we must act precisely in this manner. It has provided us with much proof that, passing through the entire leadership hierarchy--"from top to bottom"--the process of change is diluted and some basic principles are deformed and rendered powerless, something which devaluates the great undertakings in the eyes of many people. As a representative of the largest organization of the working people in our country, I would like to stress that the workers class, the agrarian workers, and the people's intelligentsia fully support the party strategy, understand its political, economic, and social essence, support the course toward new qualitative growth, and work to implement this in life. This was strongly confirmed by the 10th Congress of the Trade Unions. We must be absolutely sure, comrades, that in assuming the management of socialist property, the labor collectives will prove worthy of this historical responsibility. This will be a real test of the political maturity of the workers, specialists, and all cadres, a test of their specific rights and responsibilities, and a test of their ability to manage themselves and solve the issues of development by modern means. There is no doubt that this test of time will be successfully withstood. Placing restructuring on a broad democratic foundation and turning it into a subject of interest for the millions of working people is the guarantee of this.

Throughout the entire period of socialist construction in our country the state held the main responsibility and concern for using and increasing socialist property. And as a result of this a strong material-technical base was created which ensured a high pace of socioeconomic development and a constant increase in the population's standard of living. By placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives the state is making this the concern of the working people as well as its own concern.

Turning the collectives and working people into real managers is a decisive change which requires a fundamental transformation in the mechanisms and methods of management and administration. Placing socialist property in the hands of the labor collectives means to really create new, direct, and strong economic connection between man and the means of production. What has been done until now in this respect is not sufficient. The necessary and expected change did not take place. Property continues to be anonymous. Obviously, after adopting the declaration the main task will be to fill this political and economic act and the principles proclaimed by it with real economic content. This is so because it is clear that the collective will use the property efficiently and will enrich it if this is a profitable venture and if it has real rights and opportunities to act independently, assuming of course full responsibility for the consequences. It is necessary to work out a comprehensive and lasting legal regulation of the status of the collective-manager and the status of the self-managing organization or, in other words, to legally regulate their rights, obligations, and responsibilities.

As the declaration states, it is necessary "to clearly define and distinguish the tasks and functions of the state as the owner, by the authority of the people, of socialist property, from the tasks and functions of the labor collectives as this property's real managers." The experience of recent years

shows that this is an exceptionally serious problem. The differentiation between rights, obligations, and responsibilities is the first condition for ensuring strategic leadership of the national economy by the state, and the integrity of socialist property, as well as for guaranteeing the independence of the self-managing organizations. This is the beginning of implementing the fundamental postulate on the owner and manager, and the definition of the new functions and tasks of the state organs and labor collectives. On this basis, economic relations between them can be constructed, while contracts and dialogue are applied according to the principle of equality. Obviously, management and administration of the property by the labor collectives will determine the character and content of the collective labor contracts.

Placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives and the ensuing functions of these collectives are the crucial and most complicated element of the change. It means turning the entire arsenal of the mechanisms of management and administration into the knowledge, skill, and daily practice of the labor collectives and the people or, to put it briefly, giving life to self-management. The scope of this work is really great. It would not be realistic to assume that, by actively placing property in the hands of the labor collectives, everything will move forward smoothly.

It is in this field that the Bulgarian Trade Unions see their main tasks and responsibilities. In accordance with the principles of self-management and the labor collectives' new role and functions the 10th Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions confirmed the entire concept of restructuring our organization. The trade union's new functions in organizing the labor collectives and assisting their self-management organs in mastering their new rights, obligations, and responsibilities as managers of socialist property is the focus of this concept of restructuring.

The trade unions already have certain experience in this area. This applies first of all to the work conducted to teach the working people the new methods of management, introduce brigade organization of labor, and apply the principles of economic accountability and of dividing the labor wage fund according to individual contributions. Positive experience was accumulated in setting up collective organs of management and in assisting them in assuming their functions. Interesting undertakings related to transferring equipment to the brigade collectives and managing this equipment have been successfully implemented in the Vasil Kolarov diesel engine combine in Varna; the Blagoy Popov scientific-production combine in Pernik; Vidin's chemical combine; and the cable plant in Burgas. These undertakings have been broadly disseminated. The experience of the brigades of Ignat Radenkov from Varna's Construction and Installation Combine, of Gospodin Yordanov from the Kozloduy Nuclear Energy Complex, and of Manyo Dimitrov from Kazanluk's Friedrich Engels Combine, was especially valuable. These brigades received the means of production through a contract and on the basis of piecework, and assumed full responsibility for the results.

Real examples of management have been created in practice. They offer successful solutions to the great issue of placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives. With their high achievements they confirm the correctness of the party policy, the real dimensions of the task we pose, and the people's ability to put it into effect.

Management of socialist property by the labor collectives will need reliable and strong guarantees. The changes in the deeply rooted stereotypes of management will be accompanied by many difficulties and many conflicts and struggles. The new elements will need not only support, but also a firm defense. On the one hand, we must ensure the inviolability of the status and rights of the self-managing organizations and labor collectives. The declaration correctly requires that state organs respect their rights, forbidding that these rights be limited under any pretext. It is hardly necessary to prove how important this is, taking into account the higher organs' frequent administrative interference in the activity of the enterprises and collectives and violation of the normative acts which govern relations between them. On the other hand, it is necessary to defend society from collectives which do not assume their obligations as managers, and which misuse the rights and the people's property given to them.

Today the National Assembly will carry out an act of historical importance in developing our socialist society. The Bulgarian Trade Unions render full support to this cause and will work with all their strength for its practical implementation, because it is a cause which suits the interest of the millions of working people and the entire people.

I urge you, esteemed people's representatives, to vote unanimously and adopt the Declaration on Placing Socialist Property Under the Management and Administration of the Labor Collectives, the speaker said in conclusion.

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CSO: 2200/92

BRIEFS

SUDANESE CP LEADER--Sofia, 11 May (BTA)--Mr Muhanmad Nugud, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party, arrived on a visit here today at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1618 GMT 11 May 87 AU] /9738

ZHIVKOV RETURNS FROM PRC, USSR--On 11 May Comrade Todor Zhivkov returned to Bulgaria from Moscow after completing his official and friendly visit to China. Today in Moscow he met Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. At Sofia airport our first party and state leader was greeted by members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee, and by other officials. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 11 May 87 AU] /9738

DFLP'S NAYIF HAWATIMAH VISIT--Sofia, 11 May (BTA)--At the invitation of the Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa, Mr Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), paid a brief working visit to Bulgaria. He was received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Mr Hawatimah briefed Mr Stanishev on the successful results of the 18th session of the Palestine National Council which ended in Algiers. Mr Dimitur Stanishev expressed the support of the BCP and of the Bulgarian people for the restoration of the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Mr Nayif Hawatimah stressed the great importance of the promotion of PLO's relations with the socialist countries, as well as with the Arab forces opposing imperialism and with Syria in their front ranks. The guest left the country today. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 11 May 87 AU] /9738

LEADERS ATTEND CSSR RECEPTION--On 7 May Vaclav Janousek, CSSR ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the CSSR Embassy in connection with 9 May--Liberation Day, the CSSR national holiday. The reception, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Nacho Papazov, and Dimitur Stanishev; BCP Central Committee Department heads; leaders of sociopolitical organizations; noted figures from the fields of science and culture; and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 7 May 87 AU] /9738

SENEGALESE PARTY LEADER VISITS--Sofia, 10 May (BTA)--At the invitation of the CC of the BCP, visiting this country from May 5 to 9 was Mr Amath Dansoko, secretary general of the Parti de l'Independance et du Travail of Senegal (PIT). He was received by Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. The Bulgarian Communists reiterated their solidarity with the African peoples' struggle against imperialism and apartheid. An emphasis was laid on the historic significance of the initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries on nuclear disarmament, on strengthening world peace and security. The sides pointed out that the joint efforts for peace should be redoubled. The two parties reaffirmed their preparedness to expand their cooperation. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1550 GMT 10 May 87 AU] /9738

SRI LANKA DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER--Sofia, 10 May (BTA)--Mr Tyrone Fernando, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Sri Lanka, visited Bulgaria from May 4 through 10. He was received by Mr Petur Tanchev first vice president of the State Council, to whom he handed a message from President Junius Jeyewardene of Sri Lanka for Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council. Mr Tyrone Fernando was also received by Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy premier and chairman of the Council for Intellectual Development, by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of trade, and by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Mr Fernando conferred with Mr Aleksandur Strezov, deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1612 GMT 10 May 87 AU] /9738

CSO: 2200/92

COMMUNIQUE ON CEAUSESCU VISIT ADOPTED

LD111922 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 May 87

[Text] At the conclusion of the friendly working visit of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian communist party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, a joint communique was adopted.

The communique says that during the talks Comrades Husak and Ceausescu informed each other about the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ and 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party and exchanged views on the advancement and deepening of cooperation between the two countries and parties.

They noted with satisfaction that the conclusions adopted at their meeting in Bucharest in December 1985 are being fulfilled, and called for the adoption of further measures aimed at even more effective advancement of cooperation. They agreed to expand contacts through the line of the central committee of their parties, parliaments, governments, political, and youth and mass organizations; contacts between regions and cities in the two countries in the interest of deepening friendship; the development of Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation; and the exchange of experience in socialist construction.

The leading representatives of the two parties and states praised in particular the deepening of economic relations and emphasized the great importance of a long-term program of development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Romania until 2000.

They also agreed that central bodies for science and technology of the two states will intensify their effort to increase the proportion of scientific-technical cooperation, preferentially to microelectronics, robotization, and power production. Comrades Husak and Ceausescu expressed again determination to take a more active part in multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation of CEMA countries and in the implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress of the CEMA countries until 2000.

Comrades Gustav Husak and Nicolae Ceausescu also exchanged views on some topical international issues. They expressed concern over the continuous serious and complicated situation in the world, caused above all by the growth of nuclear armament and the imperialist policy of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. They emphasized that the fundamental problem of our times is to preserve peace, halt the growth of armament on Earth and avert its spread into outer space, achieve concrete disarmament measures, and avert the danger of nuclear catastrophe. They spoke about the importance of the implementation of the program proposed by the USSR to eradicate completely nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century. They also expressed support for the recent Soviet initiatives and proposals aimed at removing operational and tactical missiles from Europe.

They expressed the conviction that the reinforcement of security for all of Europe would be helped by the implementation of the proposals for creating zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe, the Balkan Peninsula, and other parts of Europe, and expressed the determination of their countries to promote these proposals. They also emphasized the special importance of the appeal of the Warsaw Pact member-countries to NATO member-countries and to all European countries with the program of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. Czechoslovakia and Romania are firmly for increasing the standard of cooperation of the states within the framework of all-European process on a qualitatively higher level, says the communique. Both countries will strive, in cooperation with the rest of participating countries, to make the Vienna follow-up meeting into a significant contribution to disarmament and the reinforcement of security in Europe.

Both representatives pointed to the harmful activity of revanchist forces, in particular in the FRG, which jeopardizes peace and international security. They stressed that the interests of peace and the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and friendship between states demand that all attempts at spreading anti-communism and preaching racism, chauvinist, and nationalistic ideas be halted.

The highest party and state representatives of Czechoslovakia and Romania emphasized the necessity to deal with the arguments between states, military conflicts in various parts of the world, and the hotbeds of tension only through talks. They confirmed the views of their countries to respect strictly the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality, inviolability of borders, territorial unity, nonuse or threat of force, and noninterference in internal affairs in the relations between states.

They expressed the determination of the two states to reinforce the unity of cooperation of the Warsaw Pact member-states, expand cooperation with the rest of the socialist countries, and along with all peace-loving, democratic, and progressive forces strive for the reinforcement of peace, cooperation, and security in Europe and in the whole world.

The joint communique says in conclusion that Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, to visit Romania. The invitation was accepted with joy.

/12858

CSO: 2400/261

CSSR-SRV COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED

LD101107 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 10 May 87

[Text] Vietnam--Rudolf Rohlíček, first deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government, and Tran Duc Luong, vice chairman of the Vietnamese Council of Ministers, signed a protocol in Hanoi today on the eighth session of the Czechoslovak-Vietnamese Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. The protocol addresses the possibilities and needs of the national economies of the two countries. Fulfillment of the goals set out in it will enable the further development of cooperation on a qualitatively higher level and will enable the search for new and more effective forms of this cooperation. Great attention will be given to Czechoslovak participation in the development of the Vietnamese economy. Czechoslovakia will continue to help Vietnam in mapping work, geological research, and in making use of the mineral wealth for the benefit of the development of the economies of the two countries. The modernization of electronics and engineering enterprises is being taken into account. Great attention will be given to the renewal and widening of operations in cooperation in light industry, the modernization of the factory for the export of canned tropical fruit products to Czechoslovakia, and project work.

Concrete tasks for the fulfillment of intentions emerging from agreements on goods exchange and for the preparation of cadres for the needs of the Vietnamese national economy were also set out.

/12858

CSO: 2400/261

CPSL'S LENART VIEWS IMPLICATIONS OF RESTRUCTURING

PM081337 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Apr 87 First Edition p 3

[V. Ivanov interview in Bratislava with Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee: "Our Cooperation Is a Factor of Progress"--date unspecified]

[Text] Bratislava--[Ivanov] Long-standing friendly relations developing in all areas--party, state, economic, and cultural--exist between our countries. How do you view the real potential for the further development and deepening of cooperation?

[Lenart] The profound, comprehensive, and objective analysis of all avenues of the political and practical activity of your party and state provided at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum is of great and fundamental importance for our entire socialist community. First and foremost in the sense that, through its approach to urgent economic and social problems and in its specific realism and innovation in drawing up measures aimed at restructuring, the CPSU Central Committee plenum was a graphic and convincing example of how to implement in practice socialism's organically inherent capacity for self-improvement.

Talking about the political and economic prerequisites which rouse us to further steps in this direction, I would like to stress right away that we particularly need this cooperation--ten times more than the Soviet Union needs it. We are a small country--that is the crux of the matter. Now we have reached the stage when extensive sources are already exhausted. Cooperation will become a necessity and a law of our development. Indeed, whereas previously, 10-15 years ago, for instance, we could say 'Let's import more raw materials from the Soviet Union. Let's agree that the Soviet Union will provide us with more electricity,' now, first, we are not even able to ensure such a volume of processing in our own country ourselves, and second, such economic management methods are becoming disadvantageous for society. That is why the only possible route under these conditions is the international division of labor and integration with the socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union. I am also thinking of the development of direct ties, the creation of joint enterprises, the implementation of joint scientific and technical research, and joint production.

I repeat that this is now an objective law. I can illustrate this with several examples. Today, for instance, Czechoslovakia consumes 6.5 metric tons of standard fuel per person. In terms of fuel consumption we come third after the United States and Canada. This means that we cannot go on simply expending energy resources but must exploit them more usefully.

Or take metal production. Czechoslovakia produces 15 million metric tons of steel a year. That is, on average, 1 metric ton per capita. This is a very high indicator. It means that we can no longer continue down the road of simply boosting steel output but must move toward developing better-quality steel. Or take intensive metallurgy. Within the framework of this task we are now participating, for instance, in a joint measure in Kirovograd Oblast and at the Krivoy Rog deposit, where a new plant is currently under construction. This will be the intensive path in metallurgy.

Here is yet another example from the sphere of science. Our scientific institutes have considerable collectives engaged in scientific research. However, if one compares the total number of such workers and the ranges of output we produce, we have 10 times fewer researchers than you in the Soviet Union or in other developed industrial countries. This means that we cannot stand alone in petition or take the steps that are needed today in the scientific and technical revolution.

The need of life is always stronger than words. And understanding and explaining this need is a task for the party, for the state, and for people. We must view cooperation as a decisive factor in our progress.

The potential in this area is in the fullest sense inexhaustible. The main thing is that we already know a great deal about each other and that restructuring is under way in both your country and ours. And during this restructuring our economic mechanisms are bound to draw closer—which will create still more favorable conditions for ensuring that our cooperation is even better than it has been until now. Restructuring opens up the way for this. Our parties cooperate closely. The theory by which they are guided, their style of work, and all the principles of their approach to economic and social problems are so close that this also ensures the creation of the necessary conditions and ideologically prepares us to use this potential. But I must say that it is not only a question of relations among parties. All our people very much support the Soviet Union and have a sense of love for Soviet people.

[Ivanov] During the Moscow meeting of leaders of the CEMA socialist countries' fraternal parties fundamental agreements were reached on further developing economic activity. To what extent have these agreements been implemented today and what, in your view, are the prospects for them?

[Lenart] Let us start with the fact that we have a certain amount of experience both in production sharing and in production specialization—in machine building, for instance. It is also a question of joint design bureaus and laboratories and of the fulfillment of defined design, scientific, and technical programs. And if we now use this experience rationally as an

example of revolutionary cooperation, there is no doubt that it will be developed on a massive scale and that the number of enterprises and collectives embarking on direct ties and joint programs will expand considerably.

The forms of cooperation will undoubtedly be very diverse. Take, for instance, the "Robot" Association, which tackles the problems of automation and robotization. Designers, engineers, and technicians already work at this joint association both from our side and from yours, and the association includes on both sides enterprises which create automatic lines, computer equipment, and the most diverse equipment.

In our language association means working together. Over the last few years we have succeeded in accomplishing a great deal, although—let me be blunt—it has not been easy. There were legal, social, and administrative problems. But now all this is behind us, and we have reached the stage where joint associations are up and running.

Furthermore, we have created a new Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology Laboratory at the Nitra Stockraising Institute. This institute has close links with the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Of course, Soviet specialists have done work in the institute's laboratories and exchange the results of their scientific research even in the past. But the innovation of the present stage is that it is now a common, joint laboratory. It can be said that previously they came as guests but now they conduct work jointly.

We will be developing chemical production for the Soviet Union in eastern Slovakia. This work is being conducted in two directions: agents for the rubber industry—for instance, agents which extend the life of rubber; and agents for intensive techniques in agriculture. There are also other examples.

[Ivanov] CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee plenums were held recently to discuss important questions of accelerating socioeconomic development. How did the new approaches to existing problems manifest themselves?

[Lenart] The main strategy of socioeconomic development--and this was discussed both at the CPCZ Central Committee plenum and the CPSL Central Committee plenum the other day--is to effectively introduce the achievements of science and technology into practice.

That is why, if we are talking about new approaches to existing problems, I would primarily see the special attention which was devoted to the extensive utilization of financial autonomy with a view to accelerating scientific and technical progress as such an approach. Our propaganda, political work among the masses, and organizational activity must be devoted to this today.

Naturally, the restructuring under way in your country cannot fail to influence our economic and political activity too. We recently published the main principles of restructuring, which we plan to implement with a view to eradicating the existing unfavorable trends in the country's economic, scientific, and technical development. Continuing to talk about new approaches,

in this instance the new approach was seen in the fact that the question of improving output quality as a main and most important condition of the planned steps in switching to intensive economic management methods was posed in a principled way.

The resolution of these and other problems in accelerating socioeconomic development will naturally present new tasks in party work and in the activity of state organs—the solution of these problems is linked in the most direct and immediate way with the need to further develop and deepen socialist democracy. At the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee plenums we did not examine in depth the questions of expanding democratic initiatives or, specifically, the problem of direct democracy in production, but nonetheless the speech by Comrade Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, expressed a whole series of ideas about how to improve all state activity on the basis of widespread democratization, how to administer social processes, and how to enhance the role of the masses.

Self-management interests us not just as an attribute of social activity. We need self-management not for its own sake but for the sake of accelerating the development of every collective and of society as a whole and ensuring that people act less as a workforce and more as interested proprietors. We must supplement this on the one hand by introducing financial autonomy and creating material incentives and, on the other, by improving awareness and responsibility and influencing every worker's mind and conscience.

This question is of fundamental importance since, when we talk about pooling the advantages of scientific and technical progress with the potential of the socialist system, it boils down to saying that it is necessary to change the very nature of work. Despite the fact that this task has always been posed in our society, science and technology have until now not been fully geared in practice to this role of the human factor.

Needless to say, such profound changes concerning the very content of labor activity will not and cannot come about automatically. In this sense the importance of self-management lies in the fact that its introduction is linked with giving collectives—and consequently every person—the specific rights they need and simultaneously increasing their responsibility for the state of affairs. Only on this basis of rights and responsibility can a genuinely proprietorial attitude to production emerge. And it should be noted that individuals, of course, will not become anonymous in collectives—on the contrary, there will be new opportunities for them to develop in various ways. But—and this is one of the tasks on the psychological and political side of restructuring—we should strive to ensure that individual interests coincide with the interests of collectives. It is then that public property will be perceived not as an abstract concept, but as something which it is the real concern of each and everyone to develop and augment.

After all, it is not only in capitalist society but under our socialist conditions that we sometimes observe a certain alienation, when people fail to participate personally in running production and administering activity

in other social spheres. But granting rights and enhancing responsibility is only one way of solving this quite difficult task. It is no less important to create economic conditions which boost the development of really proprietorial qualities.

It is from such a standpoint that we must also view competition between our system and the capitalist system--competition that does actually exist and is a reflection of the class struggle. Here too it is just as important for people not to have an abstract notion of this competition and to ensure--whether it is a question of production or science--that we task collectives with implementing this competition in practice and face them with the problem of proving it by way of the competitiveness of their output and the innovative nature of their scientific developments. I think that the expansion of new forms of cooperation, the utilization of direct ties between enterprises and organizations, the creation of joint enterprises, and other integration and specialization measures within the CEMA framework will promote precisely this approach to competition on a global scale.

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CSO: 1807/299

MINISTER DISCUSSES 'FREE CHOICE' OF PHYSICIANS

AD011704 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jaroslav Prokopec, minister of health of the Czech SR, by Zedena Stepankova: "About Free Choice of a Physician; the Objective of the Experiment Is to Raise Citizens' Trust in the Health Sphere"--place and date not given]

[Excerpts] In the Czech SR on 1 May, specifically, in the polyclinics of the City of Chrudim, the City of Tabor, and in the polyclinic in Prague's Fourth District--in Podoli--an experiment will begin with citizens choosing their own territorial district [uzemni obvodni] physicians. This possibility has been discussed for quite a while now, and it is no secret that citizens are interested in having a choice. We have asked Comrade Jaroslav Prokopec, minister of health of the Czech SR, about the reasons for and objectives of the experiment.

[Stepankova] Why are you beginning to allow a choice among physicians in districts?

[Prokopec] An analysis of the working people's complaints and letters shows that most suggestions concern the district territorial [obvodni uzemni] system. This is also attested to by some findings of the Public Opinion Research Institute in recent years. According to this research, the number of citizens satisfied with the district physician dropped in the 1971-1981 period from 61 percent to 48 percent.

[Stepankova] What is the objective of the experiment?

[Prokopec] The objective is to achieve, above all, greater trust by citizens in the sphere of health care. The established criteria are to contribute to a more objective assessment of the quality of work of district physicians and mid-level medical personnel in territorial districts. In no case will there be a change in the system when it comes to providing care, but we think that if a citizen can choose a physician who is to take care of him, he will trust him more and better comply with his advice, and that the physician will have greater interest in his patients and in the quality of the care provided. Among other things, the experiment will also be the first step toward the realization of our efforts aimed at remunerating physicians and all medical personnel according to the quality of their work, that is, the first step toward differentiated remuneration.

[Stepankova] Are you not afraid of the problems and conflicts which will arise in connection with the experiment and its subsequent introduction into broad practice?

[Prokopec] There will be problems, there is no doubt about it, but we are not afraid. Citizens will undoubtedly welcome this possibility, and the overwhelming majority of physicians, too.

[Stepankova] How long will the experience go on?

[Prokopec] Until the end of August 1988. But we do not exclude in advance the possibility that doubtless positive results and acquired experience will be operatively [operativne] introduced into broader medical practice.

[Stepankova] I thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2400/261

INDRA CALLS FOR INCREASED SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

LD071255 Prague CTK in English 0736 GMT 7 May 87

[Text] Prague, 7 May (CTK)--A senior Czechoslovak Communist Party official today called for further development of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, stressing the party's "strategy of acceleration" should not be confined to the economic and social spheres.

Party Presidium member and chairman of Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly Alois Indra, in an article carried by the party's newspaper RUDE PRAVO today, said: "The strategy of acceleration...must not be confined strictly to the economic and social development, but, unconditionally, has to cover all spheres of life."

"In other words, what is at issue is the development of socialist democracy, its innovation aimed at it becoming an everyday part of our life and an effective weapon against anything harmful to socialism."

Indra stressed a major task currently was to boost the initiative of people through the National Front, associating Czechoslovakia's political parties and organizations, and said the front's work should from now on be marked by matter-of-factness and rid of formalism.

"It is politically harmful, and inadmissible for a communist, to underestimate any social or interest group, or to belittle or hold in contempt the importance of existence of non-communist political parties and the devotion of their members," he said.

He also called for higher quality of work of Czechoslovak representative and legislative bodies, and stressed the need for greater participation of deputies in the legislative process.

Indra emphasized the proposed measures in no way meant a return to political pluralism, adding the decisive role in society of the Communist Party was a major precondition of any effort to develop socialist democracy.

"Pluralism of interests must not be seen as an attempt to revive political pluralism, e.g. in the sense of legalizing an organized political opposition," he said. "(The opposition) would necessarily be directed against socialism, against the people--that is, against democracy."

BRIEFS

CPCZ-SPD ENVIRONMENT TALKS--Bonn, 6 May (CTK correspondent)--Discussions of a joint working group of experts of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) for the questions of environment opened here today. The Czechoslovak delegation is led by Vladimir Vedra, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the House of the People, the SPD delegation is led by Volke. Hauff, deputy chairman of the party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag and chairman of the SPD working circle for the protection of the environment. The discussions follow up the first meeting in Prague last year, at which the group was created, and concentrate above all on the purity of atmosphere. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 6 May 87 LD] /12858

CSO: 2020/98

LOT OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN SOVIET UNION PRAISED

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 5, 12 Dec 86

[Article by G. Istvan Palfy: "Travel Report from Sub-Carpathia, 1. Is Peterfalva Far? 2. Beyond the Past."]

[5 Dec 86 pp 24, 25]

[Excerpts] Sub-Carpathia, or as it is officially called, the Trans-Carpathian Territory, is located at the south-western part of the Soviet Union. It shares its borders with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania. Its territorial seat is Ungvar (Uzhgorod). In addition to Ukrainians and Russians, almost 30 ethnic groups are represented in the population. Approximately 200,000 Hungarians live here. They constitute the majority in more than 90 villages in the districts of Ung, Munkacs, Bereg and Nagyszolos. Among the cities, Ungvar, Munkacs, Beregszasz, Tecso, and Nagyszolos have a significant number of Hungarians. The region belonged to Hungary until the end of World War I, then it was annexed by Czechoslovakia and, after a brief temporary period, it joined the Soviet Union in 1945.

It is a unique world. The visitor soon finds himself adapting to the customs. There is a Kirghiz man here, Surebai, if I remember his name correctly, who was a soldier at the border in the old days. He married a Hungarian girl and settled down. With a noble simplicity, everyone calls him Pista. His almond-eyed children speak Hungarian with the same accent as Zsigmond Moricz must have as a child. And this is not the only example, but it may be the most romantic one.

Hungarian script is everywhere. Sure, there are Hungarian villages where these are missing. Andor Biro says to this, everything depends on the leaders. He has never been told yet in what language a sign must be written. Everything must be posted in a way that is understood by those who are concerned. By the way, there are no production results either.

But here there are! I am not a specialist, I cannot provide economic data, but I can attest to the exemplary humane leadership. Although it was 9 May, a big holiday, the Day of Victory, Andor Biro invited me for a chat for 6 A.M. because, regardless of the holiday, life must have an order and this order

must not be upset, not even at special occasions. And especially not by a leader. By the time I got there, there was already a line in front of his door, people who wanted to report various things. And this is the way it has been for many years.

Andor Biro lives in the belief that even in a huge country like the Soviet Union, a miniscule ethnic group such as the Hungarians of Sub-Carpathia can have a mission. For values are not determined by figures alone. At that time I did not think of it, so I did not ask him whether or not he knew of the opinion of Laszlo Dobos, a Hungarian writer in Slovakia, according to whom an ethnic group must walk on the road of quality. But whether he knows of it or not, his thoughts are very close. I would not be surprised to see the works of Laszlo Dobos, Andras Suto and others on his bookshelves. Especially since I know that Andor Biro is also an expert in establishing relationships. As he told me, "We always say that we are not separated but united by the border. And, upon reflection, one can see a grain of truth in it. Here is, for example, the neighboring village. It is in our territory but it never occurs to me to go there because I am interested in something. I only go through it. But on the other side of the border is our sister town, Fehergyarmat. We maintain constant contacts with them. We are in a friendly relationship with almost all cooperative presidents of the area. The same is true regarding the people of Ujbodfalva in Slovakia where Janos Koteles is the cooperative's president, or the people of Mezopetri in Romania, close to Nagykaroly where Istvan Villanyi manages the cooperative. It is a famous farm; it is among Romania's best farms. We are looking for a relationship where it is aided by the language as well."

Such energy could not originate but from the belief mentioned that ethnic Hungarians do indeed have a mission. This includes not only the fostering of their traditions through choruses and dance groups and the use of the opportunity for Hungarian schools. Although these are important, too. It was the same Andor Biro who told me, "These traditions are going to be preserved for a long time, perhaps forever. If things are going as they are, we can preserve them." But it also occurred to him that in order to carry out a unique mission, spectacular results are needed in all facets of life. And these results are what gives Andor Biro the most pride, for he knows that this was the basis for everything else. He was being really very modest when he said, "We are doing all right economically; we are a recognized cooperative of the republic and I think we are also known at the federal level. It is a very good feeling indeed that it is known at other places as well that those Hungarians there, at the border, are doing a good work. And this includes one's life as well."

I do not think Andor Biro is an especially sentimental man. Still, as he was saying this, tears came to his eyes. Then he rapidly changed the subject, talking about something that was commonplace for him but that made me grasp the arms of my chair. They are building an art gallery. This year yet. There is a museum, there is a sport-center; the gallery cannot wait any longer. They are purchasing 300 paintings from the best painters of Sub-Carpathia and, of course, they also expect some donations. Since I have been there, they opened

the gallery after having remodeled a deserted palace for the purpose. It can now be the pride of the village and the area.

Certainly one is justified in making faces when it comes to aesthetics and other things but it is probably not worth it. For it is evident that a community has found its opportunities and will also find the forms of fulfillment. I have never seen anyone to be angrier than Andor Biro was when we arrived to Peterfalva like lightning from the blue sky, for the folk dance group could not be called together in such a short time. But it should have been seen! The beautiful costumes and the artistic way in which it presents the dances of Szatmar!

A president of a cooperative, who is respected nationally for the economic results he produced, is angry. He is angry that we are being left out of the jumping dance of Szatmar. This is something to reflect on! It was there, in Peterfalva, where I myself understood more fully what Laszlo Balla, chief editor of the Hungarian daily, the CARPATHIAN TRUE WORD, said to me in Ungvar a few days earlier: "We must see to it that Hungarians and the Hungarian language keep on living. At the same time we must also help Hungarians to be part of the country's bloodstream. These two are independent from, or contrary to, each other only at the surface. For we are helping our existence and continued living through this duality. For in order to have a Hungarian ethnicity, we must have Hungarian individuals with successful careers and lives. In order to have successful Hungarian individuals, it is necessary for them to become integral parts of the country's life, occupying their place in it. But this integration means that we, Hungarians, must integrate as Hungarians, with our own culture. What the Soviet people need is not a faceless and gray mass but a unique color that we provide in our joint lives."

[12 Dec 86 pp 24, 25]

[Excerpts] It creates a warm feeling to look up to the Munkacs castle, knowing that it was there where Ilona Zrinyi elicited awe in contemporary Europe with her heroism. It gives you the same good feeling to step into the Yngvar fortress where Ferenc Rakoczi II, the freedom fighter Prince of Transylvania, spent some time as Miklos Bercsenyi's guest, or to stand under the church tower where in 1703 the Kurutzes of Tamas Esze congregated, to listen on the main square of Beregszasz to the improvised lecture on cultural history by Arpad Dalmay, director of the book club named after Gyula Illyes, beginning with the century of St. Ladislaus and going all the way to Samu Czaban, Bela Illes and Pal Ilku, to visit the building in which Gabor Bethlen's Beregszasz palace, to discover the signs that show Petofi's path or the one which shows on Munkacs's main street where the birthplace of Mihaly Munkacsı used to stand.

To us, Hungarians, the most attractive things are those, of course, which remind us of our own history, but one must know and see that there are other things here as well. As Laszlo Vari Fabian, the poet living in Vari, said during a conversation that lasted through half the night:

"We must not consider only our own history, for we have been living on this land for centuries in close unity with Ukrainians and others, which also means that we know and respect each other's culture," he argued--and perhaps in order to avoid sounding like a history book--he turned his thoughts toward the future: "We must depend on one another at all times, for the time may come when no one else will help us."

Perspective and bitterness, optimism and spite that jointly accepts everything are swirling in these sentences. The past, the present, and the future. The bitterness and the spite has been nurtured by history indeed, and not only by the distant past. We were reflecting on such things even with Gyula Rohaly, one of the reporters of the Hungarian section of the Ungvar TV, and Gyorgy Dupka, poet and journalist, as we were strolling on the bank of the Ung River, namely, that those who lived through the century in Sub-Carpathia, began their journey still in the Monarchy, shared Hungary's fate in World War I, could have been Red soldiers during the Hungarian Soviet Republic, then citizens of Czechoslovakia, then those of Horthy's Hungary, forced into World War II, on the wrong side, so that in the changed times of the present they can now reflect on the changing fortunes of history. Even East European history, which abounds in strange things, can hardly be an example of such a wide repertory of variety.

I entered every book store I saw and I was awed. Almost everything that appears in Hungary can be found on the shelves. History and ethnology, the newest works representing the newest views. In other words, not only the classics or, generally, literature or a certain biased selection of literature. There are no fears here about knowledge of national history undermining nationality. Why would it be undermined? For what the ethnic youngster learns from books in the school is similar in view to books in Hungary. I have seen family libraries. They prove that in Sub-Carpathia one can stay current in scientific fields even in one's mother tongue.

Not everywhere is the lot of ethnic Hungarians such as this; not everywhere can such bookstores and books be seen either. The only shortage is perhaps the lack of works by local writers. The most important of these could not perhaps be bought even for gold. They are simply bought up rapidly, and it seems to me that the Carpathian publishing House is unable to publish the new poems and short stories in a larger edition. At present they publish poems by printing 1000 or 2000 copies, which seems adequate, considering the size of the population, but it is not. Such is the hunger; such is the demand.

The only plausible explanation for this is that the school does not destroy but rather increases the demand for vernacular culture; it also makes people aware that the growing literature of Sub-Carpathia is the voice of the community, the universal manifestation of the local spirit. I had the opportunity to meet a few Hungarian teachers, and on the basis of these acquaintances, I can say that what goes on in the school is hardly a low-quality patchwork. This is proven by the fact that many students go on to the university, and not only to the Hungarian department. For it is possible, and not only on

paper, to take the entrance examination in Hungarian at the university of Ungvar in any specialty. What counts is not nationality but knowledge.

I know it from Professor Lisanets that, all in all, there are about 100 Hungarian schools in Sub-Carpathia. There are grade schools and secondary schools, and their faculties have university degrees.

I know, for I heard and even asked several people, how it is possible that in some Hungarian villages the grade schools just introduced Russian-language instruction to replace the Hungarian language. Thus the first 3 years are taught in Russian, the Hungarian language is used only in the 4th year. I learned that it was the parents who wanted it this way, because they are unfamiliar with the worldwide recognition that the children's outlook on life is best if they learn, first of all, their mother tongue decently. Some parents in Borzsova do not believe in this. Like that young woman whom I met at the creek as she was washing clothes. Not that she did not have a washing machine, but the clothes will have a finer touch if they are rinsed in that clean water. She believes in this, too. There are many ways of thinking in Sub-Carpathia with regard to both small and big things. But what is important is the fact that in matters of school, for instance, it is indeed the parents who decide. If they make bad decisions, well, let it be.

9414/12851
CSO: 2500/263

PRAVDA MARKS SOVIET-POLISH TREATY ANNIVERSARY

PM211528 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent O. Losoto report: "They Called It 'Przyjazn'"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw — The Soviet and Polish peoples today mark a noteworthy date—the 42d anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. This treaty, forming the immutable basis of the fraternal alliance, reliably serves the two countries' interests and the cause of peace and socialism.

A new post recently appeared in the Polish Government: official responsible for cooperation and joint enterprises. Zdzislaw Kurowski has been appointed to this post. He is also Polish deputy minister of foreign trade. I asked him to talk about Polish-Soviet cooperation and the new forms of collaboration.

The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, he said, is the basis on which our fraternal relations developed and continue to develop, on which economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties between Poland and the Soviet Union are based. Its significance in the day-by-day rebirth of Poland, the socialist transformations on Polish soil, and today's acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development cannot be exaggerated. It is well known that the acute crisis affected Poland's economic development. But during this difficult period we felt and still feel with special force the reliable, fraternal support and interest in the speediest possible eradication of our difficulties. Despite the fact that Polish deliveries to the USSR have fallen, the Soviet Union, far from reducing deliveries to our republic, have even increased them in some spheres.

The people's Poland is today mobilizing efforts, increasing its exports to the Land of the Soviets and striving to eliminate the debt accumulated over the crisis years. It is envisaged that in the present 5-year period trade turnover between our countries will total R74 billion and will finally be balanced. At the same time it should be said that what is planned does not, of course, exhaust all our potential. Great reserves lie in the further integration of the Polish and Soviet economies.

The structure of Polish-Soviet trade turnover is basically preserved, although here too the aim is to increase efficiency. We trade, and this must be emphasized, on mutually advantageous terms. The distinctive feature of the cooperation is its stability.

Polish-Soviet cooperation is currently at a crucial point. The 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress defined the strategy of accelerated progress. Increasingly strong collaboration promotes the systematic modernization of the national economy and increased returns. We are jointly introducing new forms of collaboration in accordance with the demands of our time, forms based on the long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Poland and the USSR through the year 2000. Such progressive forms as direct ties between Polish and Soviet enterprises, organizations, and scientific research collectives have today come to the fore. Some 300 Polish plants, factories, and institutions are linked with Soviet partners by this route. The creation of joint enterprises will help to make still more mutually advantageous use of the advantages of the international division of labor and the two countries' scientific, technical, and production potential. Five joint enterprises are now in the setting-up phase, and seven more at the preparation stage.

However, I must observe that the development of new forms of cooperation is encountering certain difficulties. This means, first and foremost, the organizational, legal, and financial aspects. It is clearly necessary to develop systems of comparable prices, and the need also arises to standardize national currency exchange rates.

In deepening direct links, Z. Kurowski said in conclusion, we will seek to ensure that this leads to closer production contacts, to production sharing. The correct choice of partner is very important here. This means we must think about setting up an information bank on the relevant topics. New forms of cooperation also require education and the development of new cadres. Cadres with a bold approach, an unstereotyped way of thinking, who are not afraid of risks, who take decisions on the basis of thorough consideration. It is not easy to achieve this. It has to be learned. And we will learn, because that is required by the fundamentally new stage in the collaboration among socialist countries.

The CPSU and the PZPR are fundamental to today's increasing dynamism in Soviet-Polish cooperation, the improvement of its machinery, and the growth of efficiency. Here is what Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said about the fraternal parties' collaboration:

Polish society greeted with great interest the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, which developed the process of active revolutionary restructuring aimed at the release of all socialism's creative forces and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. The comprehensive Soviet peace initiatives on the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, the curtailment of the arms race, the elimination of medium-range missiles, and so forth meet man's most urgent aspirations and open up prospects for lasting peace. The Polish people support them warmly.

The basis of Poland's policy is indissoluble friendship, alliance, and close collaboration with the USSR. It is based on complete trust and respect for each other and active cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR. Our parties' coordinated program for ideological cooperation in the period through the year 1990 provides for a more intensive exchange of experience of socialist building.

This program, the secretary of the PZPR Central Committee concludes, covers all aspects of our parties' ideological cooperation.

/8309

CSO: 1800/603

POLITBURO REVIEWS JARUZELSKI VISIT TO USSR

LD292309 Warsaw PAP in English 2202 GMT 29 Apr 87

[Text] Warsaw, April 29--The PUWP CC Political Bureau Tuesday reviewed and highly assessed the results of the friendly working visit paid by Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU CC.

The talks and decisions reached during the visit constitute a consistent implementation of the strategic line of the 10th PUWP Congress, comprehensive development of cooperation and consolidation of friendship with the Soviet Union. The talks which Wojciech Jaruzelski held with Mikhail Gorbachev are especially important for the fulfillment of these goals.

The exchange of information on the implementation of the resolutions of the 10th PUWP Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress as well as a review of issues of Polish-Soviet cooperation and key issues of the international situation once again showed the full unanimity of views and evaluations.

The Political Bureau stated with satisfaction that Polish-Soviet cooperation was currently characterized by considerable dynamics, which fully corresponds to the needs of the new stage of developing mutual relations in all fields.

The strategy of restructuring and acceleration pursued in the Soviet Union corresponds to the Polish policy of socialist renewal, breeds new impulses for it, and creates a climate for the broad development of fraternal relations between both parties and countries.

The declaration on Polish-Soviet cooperation in ideology, science and culture signed in the course of the visit by the leaders of both parties is an event of historic significance in the contacts between both parties and states.

The agreements on economic and scientific-technological cooperation with special stress laid on direct production ties between enterprises reached during the visit will have a great impact on the further development of bilateral economic relations with benefits for both states and nations.

The Political Bureau recommends that party authorities at different levels and party organizations take all the necessary steps to assure the implementation of the signed documents and adopted agreements. The Political Bureau asked the government for a speedy putting into effect of the conclusions stemming from the visit for the economy and administration.

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CSO: 2020/96

PZPR'S CYPRYNIAK ON SPAIN VISIT, POLISH REFORMS

PM301304 Madrid MUNDO OBRERO in Spanish 23-29 Apr 87 pp 48-49

[Interview with PZPR Organization Department Director Kazimierz Cypryński by Carmen Monzon; date, place not given]

[Text] [Monzon] What is the significance of this visit [by PZPR delegation to Spain] with regard to relations between our two parties?

[Cypryński] I have come here in response to an invitation from the PCE Central Committee, and it shows that there is increasing cooperation between the two parties. The aim of this visit, on our part, has been to gain an acquaintance with all matters relating to the PCE's work and activities, taking account of the current conditions under which it operates and also the division of the communist world in Spain, as well as the country's specific political conditions.

Furthermore, we have provided information about the problems currently facing our party and also the principal aspects of our program of activities so that Spanish Communists can be aware of our activities.

[Monzon] What are your first impressions of this visit?

[Cypryński] Our impressions are good. We have had conversations with PCE leaders and they have informed us openly and sincerely about the full complexity of the problems they have. We have visited several parts of the country such as Aragon and Asturias and have also had conversations with Workers' Committees representatives, and our impression has been that the PCE is regaining strength, has a good team of leaders and a membership willing to work hard and a place in the leadership of the Spanish Left and in unifying the communist movement. It is not our job to assess the results of this work but we believe that it is the right path and in this regard our impressions are extremely positive.

[Monzon] With regard to Poland, how is the implementation of the reforms policy approved by the latest PZPR congress proceeding?

[Cypryński] During the 10th PZPR Congress, continuing the trend established at the previous congress, a number of guidelines were adopted, on the one hand, from the strategic viewpoint, for understanding and cooperation, and on the other hand for the social struggle and reforms. The former indicates that the

party wants to extend the broad front of those involved in building socialism in Poland, which is composed not only of communist party members but also of people not belonging to the party, all those who want to contribute to the challenge that we have set.

As for working methods, we try to promote those that best serve the working class, and our party has never withheld its cooperation in this regard. It was with this in mind that we created the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal, which includes in its ranks members of the other parties, others not belonging to parties, and people representing very interesting political viewpoints. Thus a kind of forum has been created for discussing ways of rebuilding socialism, and this is a form of struggle for combating all those who are trying to obstruct socialist building in Poland.

[Monzon] What specific reforms are being tackled?

[Cypryniak] The final part of the socialist reforms includes two elements--economic reforms and sociopolitical reforms.

On the one hand we have already started building a new economic model that envisages new working methods for enterprises. We have abandoned centralism in the economy in the form in which it was applied until 1980.

Our enterprises are now independent in all senses of the word, with self-management by the workers, who have financial control of the enterprises. We are thus facilitating the workers' involvement in enterprise management. We advise them on and guarantee them adequate means of production so they exert their influence directly through their work and contribute to improving their conditions.

[Monzon] What is the status of relations with the Church?

[Cypryniak] Church-state relations are not at present at their worst. The Polish clergy, perhaps like Polish society, is diversified and therefore there is not just one image of the Polish Church. The same applies to believers, among whom there is not just one stance. As for the state, we want to maintain good relations with the Church. Our constitution has created a legal framework for religious freedom. But it is also known that in the years 1980-81 some representatives of clerical circles--not all: I want to stress this very clearly--were involved in political activities.

We are aware that there are many believers in Poland, so we do not want to change any part of the constitution. Believers never have been nor will be discriminated against and they have a guaranteed place in political activities and in criticisms about whether we are building socialism well or badly.

We wish to maintain, or at least organize, relations with the Church along these lines to guarantee coexistence with the socialist state, and we even see a possibility of cooperation by the Church with the state. There are health care activities in which cooperation is taking place and we believe there are many other fields in which this can be achieved. At the same time

our ideological confrontation will continue because we represent different things, since our Marxist-Leninist ideology is different from that of the Church, but at the same time we believe that the ideological disagreement must not become a political fight.

Under these conditions we are willing to cooperate with the Church, and this is our proposal.

[Monzon] Difficulties are created for the Polish Church by its authorities by stances such as those adopted by John Paul II on his visit to Chile when he compared the Pinochet dictatorship to the Polish regime. What is your opinion of this?

[Cypryniak] I only learned of the pope's comments through the Spanish press and I do not know whether those were his actual words or whether it was the journalist's interpretation. But if he really did make such statements it seems to me so despicable that I will not even consider it or argue about it. Such a statement does not even deserve to be argued about.

[Monzon] What is your opinion about the repercussions that the changes in Soviet policy following the 27th CPSU Congress have had in the socialist countries?

[Cypryniak] From the outset our party has fully supported the rebuilding program announced by the CPSU, which it is carrying out under Gorbachev's leadership. We have no objections, though of course some tactical aspects are different in the USSR from in Poland, since conditions are different.

We believe that there is total agreement between our ideas on introducing reforms that can make socialism a more dynamic system and that will at the same time serve as a guide for other nations of the world. The results of this policy will be seen well beyond the Soviet Union's borders and the process that has been started will be very important throughout the world since it will be a great help for the Communist Parties' activities in the capitalist countries. This reform will impart a new luster to socialism.

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CSO: 3548/78

ARAB LEAGUE'S KLIBI TALKS WITH ORZECHOWSKI, WOJCIK

LD091914 Warsaw PAP in English 1645 GMT 9 May 87

[Text] Warsaw, May 9--Chedli Klibi, the secretary-general of the League of Arab States arrived here today for a visit connected to an informative mission on the current situation in Arab countries, with particular regard to the Middle East conflict.

In the afternoon Chedli Klibi met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski who expressed recognition for the activity of the league and its efforts to establish peace in the Middle East. These efforts center on the settlement of the conflict and on securing all inalienable rights of the Palestinian nation, including the right of its own state.

During the talk the sides stressed the significance of the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council for strengthening the unity of Palestinians.

Chedli Klibi thanked for Poland's support for the initiatives undertaken with a view to a just settlement of the Middle East conflict. He also pointed to the danger caused by a further prolongation of the Iran-Iraq war and appealed for increased efforts of the entire international society for ending that conflict on conditions corresponding to the norms of the international law.

The sides also pointed to the possibilities of the further development of cooperation between Poland and Arab states, including economic cooperation. These issues were a topic of Chedli Klibi's talk with Minister of Foreign Trade Andrezej Wojcik.

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CS0: 2020/96

SELF-MANAGEMENT ISSUES RECEIVE EXTENSIVE PRESS ATTENTION

Workers Self-Management Still Embattled Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 6, 8 Feb 87, pp 6, 7

[Article by Pawel Ruszkowski: "The Guardians of Independence"]

[Text] A resolution by the 10th PZPR Congress strongly counts worker self-management as one of the lasting achievements of the champions of the democratization of public life in Poland. Does this mean that the struggle has been won? I think that it would be more prudent to regard the congress statement as an actual communique from the battlefield than as a song of triumph.

The central section of the front is the 25 September 1981 law on worker self-management. There has been a continuing and unofficial rivalry to see who will finally succeed in changing this law. The action is being conducted under the idea that self-management is good but the law is bad. Every bill to update the law and which addresses the issue of enterprises includes fairly discrete anti-self-management "barbs". Such was the case in the issues of collective bargaining, the status of directors, mixed enterprises and science and production centers, etc. (1).

From its flanks, self-management is being attacked by gigantomania or the tendency to transform our economy into a single huge and guided enterprise and the actual point of attack is the automobile industry.

The point of attack of the supporters of partner brigades is also not entirely clear. Analysis of the most recent statements (2) on that subject indicate that this is an entirely separate concept of self-management than the one currently being realized. The basic form of industrial democracy is supposed to be not as much the worker's council as the worker brigade which is empowered to make decisions on all production and factory issues. The brigades have said nothing more specific about how workers will be able to take part in this decision-making. Therefore, depending on the situation,

this concept can serve the realization of entirely different economic and social goals.

And what is happening in the enterprises themselves? Above all, worker interest in the activity of the worker councils has been unsatisfactory. Indeed, the frequency of elections is no longer a problem but at the same time, there are fewer people willing to become council members. The spiritual state of the self-management aktiv is illustrated by the following sentence: "Self-management is a maximum of effort and responsibility and a minimum of satisfaction".

One of the most significant causes of this frustration can be seen in the consistent action of enterprise administration and its efforts to limit the influence of self-management. Let us look at the basic tactics used against the worker councils.

Information Blockade

Studies (3) have shown that some directors (36 percent) make information available only if the worker councils clearly demand it. This attitude creates a barrier hard to overcome because if a council is to demand information, it must first know whether the required document was prepared within the enterprise or outside. This is made even more difficult by the fact that the director remains the sole organ for most of the institutions that form the organizational environment of an enterprise. In addition, most of the letters concerning enterprise matters are addressed to the director alone.

The tradition of making decisions "behind closed doors" among a small group of trusted individuals has very strong roots among the management personnel of our economy and an effort has been made to impose this style on the functioning of the worker's councils. Council decisions are seldom published in more than a handful of copies. Workers almost always hear only a dry report of council proceedings. If workers were informed that the council had considered various means of resolving a problem, they would know that the final decision was not the only one possible but the one chosen from several variants and that knowledge would turn their heads.

The methods used to suppress self-management information are fairly prosaic. For example, the director personally censors council communiques and resolutions and removes portions that he may feel the workers should not see.

Refusal to act. This is a "creative" use of bureaucratic mechanisms. The director treats the worker's council like a bureaucrat does a persistent supplicant. Council resolutions, recommendations or initiatives are calmly accepted and then forgotten. If the council insists that something be done, then after a few months of silence, it receives an evasive or entirely irrelevant answer. The council members must have great determination and stamina to function as the co-directors of their plant.

The tactic of formal disputes consists of the director's restraint of all council resolutions that differ from the concepts accepted by the enterprise management. This type of activity was encouraged by legal regulations that were in force until the end of 1985 which stated that a director could restrain any such council resolution if he felt that it violated the law or was against the public interest. This principle was often abused by directors.

The negative attitude of enterprise administrations not only lowered the effectiveness of worker's councils but also paralyzed the activities of self-management. The multiplication of organizational difficulties, unresolvable disputes and absurd interpretations of existing laws have discouraged council members and caused a lack of faith in any possibility of changing the existing situation.

Council Strategy

In conclusion, one can say that neither the force of law nor the will of the workers will automatically turn worker's councils into comanagers of their places of employment. The secret of influencing decision-making is not at all to be found in the voting mechanism because the process of preparing a decision is what is most important.

The basic prerequisite for the worker's councils to fulfill their function as comanager of the factory is for them to become involved in preliminary work to analyze and select source materials, define the directions to be taken by desired solutions and balance any eventual losses and gains.

For the plant administrations, it is a much more convenient situation when self-management restricts its activity to decision-making alone. A typical example of such an approach is the procedure used by most enterprises to pass their yearly plan. Specialized administrative bureaus work out the preliminary assumptions of the plan over a period of several months and experts prepare reports. This produces a document that considers the basic procedures used with the banks, founder's organ and the Planning Commission. This report is then sent to the worker's council which is to spend about two weeks reviewing it. In this context, the interaction between amateurs from the self-management councils and the professionals of the administration is a pure illusion. Council members can at best become familiar with the basic premises of the plan but they are unable to change anything.

If the council participates in the decision-making, the self-management activities take on a concrete economic and social significance. The council that does not take up such work will never amount to anything more within its firm than just a puppet organization.

One of the signs that a worker council is independent is when it works out its own position on a given issue by calling on the help of problem teams or commissions. Studies have shown that this mechanism is employed by about 70

percent of firms and this means that the interaction between worker's councils and the party and union organizations has become a series of formal negotiations in which both structures usually present their ideas in written form to the council. Furthermore, the councils often hold a referendum to gain the employees' opinion.

What Was Found?

An interesting relationship has been revealed by analysis of the social and political background of council members. It was discovered that the councils that call on the help of problems commissions and teams usually contain more party members and unionists as well as more members of the former Solidarity union (4). This leads one to a rather obvious conclusion which is that in these councils one finds people who were previously active in other organizations and therefore have a certain amount of organizational experience.

The self-management councils in which one finds former Solidarity activists more often (13.5 percent) work out decisions with the help of commissions.

We must also point out another mechanism that limits independent decision-making by the councils. Studies have shown that in 79 percent of enterprises, the councils are required to have their materials prepared in a joint session of the council presidium and plant director. These councils more often consists of trade union members and less often of former Solidarity activists.

In giving up its legislative guarantees of independence, a council weakens itself. This is above all true because because the presidium then becomes the real decision-maker and this is always followed by a drop in the activity of other council members. Furthermore, this weakens the council in relation to other decision-making groups within the enterprise. In practice, this can be the first step toward a return to the 1970's concept of the "worker self-management conference".

Pragmatic Measure

Council independence was studied not only in the context of decision-making but also in terms of how they are prepared. It was assumed that a decision is reached independently by a council if the council added corrections to the proposals on a given issue submitted by the plant director or party or union organization. It turned out that there is a substantial relationship between the councils' ability to make independent decisions and the number of former Solidarity members within them.

Independent decision-making concerned the following issues: evaluation of the correctness of work standards, improvement of work organization, adoption of work regulations, auditing work discipline, adoption of a plant wage agreement, the granting of plant and state awards, housing and the funding of social organizations and associations. Out of 29 councils studied, 9 (31

percent) of them included former Solidarity members and were characterized by greater independence. It needs to be emphasized that the councils are more interested in making independent decisions on work processes than the division of funds and that undermines the popular notion that the self-management councils are chiefly concerned with getting higher wages and more privileges for the workers they represent.

The author is an employee of the Center for Public Opinion Research. In this article, he has used the results of his own studies.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Jan Kalita, "Zamach na samorządność" [Attack On Self-Management], ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. No 31, 1986.
2. Sylwester Zawadzki, "Sens brygad partnerskich" [The Sense of Partner Brigades], ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 23 September 1986.
3. Empirical data from a Public Opinion Research Center study titled "Worker Self-Management in the Process of Managing an Industrial Enterprise" which was carried out in April 1985 in 334 enterprises with more than 500 employees.
4. Former Solidarity members are also members of 43.5 percent of the studied councils.

Center for Self-Management Studies Discussed

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Feb 87 pp 1,2

[Interview with Sylwester Zawadzki, member, Council of State by Maria Dunin-Wasowicz: "Support for Self-Management"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, in Autumn, the sceptics said that self-management will be finished by Spring. However, the Center for Self-Management Studies [CSS] was founded recently. Has this fact denoted some change in the situation?

[Answer] The center was founded by the 10 July 1986 Council of State resolution. The creation of this center therefore means that a clear need felt for some time by self-management activists is being met. The creation of the CSS is also a response to the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress and the entire concept of accelerating social and economic growth. It is also a response to those who fear that self-management will not survive. I feel that self-management is a social factor of great promise and the center will become the institution whose actions support it.

[Question] Better late than never.

[Answer] I would not say that is true. After all, training has been conducted by various institutions and the center does not intend to replace them nor does it want to take over the work of the consultative points created by the Sejm Self-Management Commission.

We must just support this activity and broaden it with new initiatives. I think that the creation of the center is just a step forward and the making of the right conclusion from the form of cooperation with self-management that have so far been too weak.

[Question] You direct the Programs Council created in January of this year. What will the center be involved with at the start?

[Answer] The Council of State outlined four basic directions for the center and they are to inspire training activity, train lecturers and prepare training materials. The center will be organizing legal advice and helping to distribute information about the experiences and court rulings concerning worker self-management councils. Finally, the center will also be initiating studies on the introduction of self-management and cooperate in this work with other scientific centers in Poland. It will also work to inspire publications dedicated to the problems of self-management.

[Question] Will the center conduct its own research?

[Answer] The CSS was not conceived as a scientific establishment or a great organizational machine. It will therefore stimulate research but the execution of these studies will depend on scientific establishments. Even now, polls are being conducted to determine how well the brigade work system is functioning.

[Question] At this time, the center has only 5 employees along with its director, Dr. Kazimierz Mzyk. Is that enough people?

[Answer] There will still be many more and all of them will be highly qualified. It is important for the public to support this professional activity with its own initiatives. I am referring to the Program Council, whose membership is evenly divided between chairmen of worker self-management councils from all over Poland and representatives of the the Sejm's Self-Management Commission and Socioeconomic Commission, the Self-Management Commissions of the Provincial People's Councils, the OPZZ, scientists and experts.

[Question] Recent years have shown that the economic authorities have unfortunately not made a penetrating analysis of studies on self-management. Will the appearance of the center change anything in this regard?

[Answer] I think that it will. We are already beginning to receive the results of studies conducted by individual research centers. Recently, we received a very extensive report from the Orgmasz Machinery Industry

Management Institute. We will be analyzing this study to find practical applications.

[Question] At the November meeting of the Self-Management Commission, you said that the CSS should support self-management in its contacts with the state government. What kind of support should it provide?

[Answer] Above all, it should support self-management by providing legal and organizational advice and still more types of assistance. It is a complex problem to enhance the standing of self-management organs and this goal will also be served by publications like "Vadamecum for the self-management activist". The "Self-Management Library" will be continued. We are also thinking of ways to support forms of self-education. At the first meeting of the Program Council, there was a very interesting proposal to get television involved in this work.

[Question] Obviously, "Vadamecum" must therefore propagate the principle of economic reform. On the other hand, we also know that the second stage of reform is being viewed with much apprehension by self-management representatives.

[Answer] The problem lies with their understanding of the second stage of reform. I think that the central problem can be found in creating stronger ties between workers and self-management and in bringing the reform to every workplace. This goal should be furthered by the creation of brigades that contract their work with the director. They themselves decide how work is to be organized and how wages will be paid. It is through the work brigades that an enterprise's worker council has the possibility of gaining direct access to the employees. This results in more democratic management and also increases production efficiency. This form of work organization benefits the worker, enterprise and state more.

The center places great importance to these problems. We will soon use the poll I mentioned earlier to make a statement on this subject.

[Question] However, some feel that reducing self-management to the level of the individual workplace obliterates the idea of strategic management.

[Answer] Why? After all, the worker council will remain at the level of the enterprise. The creation of people's councils did not weaken the Sejm, did they? Therefore, the emergence of a developed form of self-management has not at all changed the role of the worker council but enriched it.

[Question] There are still other problems. The studies state that "it has become necessary to take decisive action against any restriction of the role of self-management and to support its activities in order to introduce stable rules of economic play".

[Answer] The center very much supports the legal rights of self-management. Professor L. Bar, the leader of the Program Council's legal section is only speaking for himself. The basic criterium for evaluating self-management is how much influence it gives workers over decisions within their firm. These rights must be protected by working to overcome the many and diverse obstructions and barriers. We must see that directors come to fully understand the public's role in the management of their plants. I think that the fundamental changes taking place in the Soviet Union will contribute much to this.

[Question] And what about the fears that self-management will be turned into Worker's Self-Government Conferences?

[Answer] I would phrase that otherwise. The development of democracy and self-government in a socialist state is more than just a stroll in Lazienki Gardens. There is nothing in life that will guarantee changes without conflict. Aside from practical and legal guarantees, self-management is its own best guarantee. I think that recent events have confirmed that. Self-management representatives have taken a very strong stand against certain proposals intentionally or unintentionally aimed at weakening their position. The democratic tendency has many dialectical preconditions and will find its own way through the difficulties.

In this context, the creation of the CSS is undoubtedly a factor that supports the position of self-management and fosters the consistent implementation of the principal resolutions passed by the 9th and 10th PZPR congresses.

Broad Political Aspects Discussed

Warsaw EKSPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 13-15 Feb 87 p 3

[Interview with Sylwester Zawadzki, member, Council of State, by Danuta Kosciuszko: "Self-Management Is Neither a Facade or a Ceremony"]

[Text] [Question] Government circles have talked a lot lately about worker self-management and it is also being written about by the press and discussed on radio and television. Why, professor, is everyone so interested in this topic?

[Answer] We have long talked about the problems of both worker self-management and regional self-government. This is not surprising because the 9th PZPR Congress has again made the development of self-governing democracy its order of the day and has made self-government a part of socialist renewal. Discussion of this topic was enlivened especially during the creation of specific laws such as the law on worker self-management in state enterprises, people's councils and regional self-government, forms of farmer self-management and the law on court lawyer self-management. There was also lively discussion among legal advisors. I will, however, admit that we are at this time again seeing greater interest in self-management and this is connected

with the fact that we are about to enter the second stage of economic reform and self-management is one of its main tenets. I will not hide the fact that the government's bill for a so-called mother-law which calls for the updating of 11 economic regulations has also contributed to the higher temperature of discussions on self-management. This was expressed during the Sejm's meeting of worker self-management activists as well as in later discussions and in the press.

[Question] It was the proposals of the government bill to update these 11 laws that aroused opposition because they were seen as an intention to weaken self-management and strengthen the role of directors. Do you think that these fears were justified?

[Answer] As opposed to many other people, I do not feel that strengthening the role of the director has to weaken self-management nor must the development of the latter threaten the former. In my opinion, there is no such relationship between the two. The position of self-management should grow but even the greatest amount of authority will be of no avail to it as long as the enterprise does not have an efficient administration that can deal with the difficult problem of technically supporting production, providing supplies and organizing efficient cooperation, etc. A wise self-management council will understand that good work cannot be achieved without efficient direction and the directors must also be aware of the fact that the basic problems of the work establishment cannot be resolved without the support of the employees or efficient self-management.

[Question] And what do you think about the emerging opinion among activists that self-management should be represented outside of the plant?

[Answer] Indeed, I do hear such opinions. Some people see the chief weakness of workers self-management and the difficulties facing its further growth as its lack of representation on the level of the central and provincial government and within the ministries. They also feel that the most important task is to create such representation. I think that such views are the result of an erroneous analysis of the situation and that the problems facing self-management are not the result of any lack of a superstructure in the form of representation. I have serious doubts as to whether these superstructures are necessary, especially at the present stage. I do, however, think that the weaknesses of self-management are an expression of something else entirely and that is its weak support among workers.

Its basic goal now really is to form a stronger bond with workers. At the 6th National Conference of Workers Self-Management Representatives in autumn of last year, I expressed the view that the second stage of economic reform should be characterized by bringing the principles of reform to every worker as well as by creating a grass-roots structure for self-management and taking it to the lowest level of plant organization, the brigade. I think that as long as the workers' councils do not establish this type of bond with the workers, no super-plant organizations can help self-management. These would

become meaningless and superfluous organizations. Who could say that, instead of concentrating on the problems of their own enterprise, the self-management activists would not start arguments about their right to involve themselves in such representation and get into procedural disputes? After all, that is something that is all too probable.

[Question] But one hears it wisely asked who has the right to express an opinion in the name of worker self-management. And who is supposed to represent these views?

[Answer] These opinions are now represented by the Sejm whose Self-Management Commission has often demonstrated that it defends the interests of self-management. There is also the Sejm Socioeconomic Council which includes many representatives of self-management. There are still other such councils in the provinces. They can hold conferences of self-management activists on either the departmental or the provincial level. Finally, there are also the national self-management conferences held on the initiative of the above-named Sejm commissions. The conclusions reached at these conferences are scrupulously analyzed in the Sejm and often form the basis for further parliamentary action. For activists, these conferences are an opportunity for them to discuss their most important problems.

[Question] You have almost convinced me that the activists long for a self-management chamber within the Sejm. They complain that the trade unions have their own national representation which does much to strengthen plant unions. Under such a situation, self-management becomes the weakest member of the relationship between itself, the trade unions and the plant directors.

[Answer] Let me repeat that I am deeply convinced that the strength of self-management lies in its close ties to the workers. At the same time, there will always be some disputes between the worker's council, trade unions and directors because each of the three has its own point of view and interests. Differences of opinion are quite natural and are not something to be feared. Discussion is necessary to reaching the best decision that can be accepted by all. In my opinion, directors should be most alarmed when self-management and the unions are too passive because that is when they do not responsibly represent the workers who participate in the firm's activities.

[Question] However, in these natural and quite useful disputes, everyone involved should be open to the arguments of his partners and decisiveness in presenting one's own demands should not turn into mere stubbornness.

[Answer] Of course. In some instances there is a predisposition for certain partners to take a particular position. They should try to be flexible at least. The director who is guided only by suggestions from the enterprise's founders' organ and ignores the concrete conditions under which his employees work can cause serious conflicts. Therefore, the essence of self-management activities is matching the general public interest with those of the employees. None of these interests must be made superior to all others and

the proper relationship between all of them must be maintained. The disputes between self-management and the trade unions can be reduced to the fact that self-management is concerned with the growth of the enterprise and its production while the unions emphasize worker rights. These points of view should be harmonized because without any consideration of worker rights, it is impossible to achieve any long-term growth in the enterprise and production while at the same time, excessive emphasis on of worker rights without proper consideration of the need to increase production can result in much lower worker wages.

[Question] What is necessary is a sense of responsibility.

[Answer] Yes, the right to make decisions must be combined with responsibility. Self-Management is a form of management which in this case makes the working class within the given firm responsible for the results of its own work. The greater the worker rights, the more responsibility they should bear. The same is also true of the trade unions.

[Question] Do we in Poland have sufficiently effective legal regulations to uphold this relationship?

[Answer] I think that there is no need now for any changes to our regulations because they are sufficient in their present form. The real problems lies in restructuring our awareness. The second stage of reform is not only the restructuring of our economy but also involves the need to make substantial changes to our way of thinking, without which we cannot achieve our economic goals and increase productivity. We should be aware of how we can better manage investment and technical progress and therefore, we cannot squander our entire national income. A growth in production cannot be preceded by a rise in wages or inflation will ruin us. The worker must have greater responsibility for his workplace and enterprise. Obviously, the primary task of the party is to reconstruct our awareness and this is a job that neither self-management, the trade unions nor the plant directors can handle.

[Question] You said that self-management should go to the grass roots and to the worker's brigades. How are they to do that?

[Answer] Let us consider just what self-management is. It is a system of management by the entire staff of employees. Each worker is a particle of public management and can be elected to the self-management organ which is the worker's council. He has the right to speak out on company issues, etc. All of this is guaranteed by the law on worker self-management in state enterprises. Worker self-management on the lowest organizational level, the brigade, manifests itself most fully in what we call the brigade system or what some call the "agent" system. This is one of the key problems of the second stage of economic reform. The brigade signs an agreement with the director to perform a certain job for a certain amount of money. It is not paid for the work time or number of employees involved but just for the job done. This reduces the principles of reform to the basic organizational

level. The brigade system is not just a theory but is actually functioning at the Swierczewski Works in Warsaw and at Hydrobudowa in Katowice.

[Question] The more you work, the more you earn.

[Answer] Yes. The experience of 200 firms in which the brigade system has been introduced shows an increase in production, lower employee turnover and absenteeism and people feel responsible for their firm because their work matters. This is what creates a self-managing collective. However, we must also be aware of the fact that we are still only at the beginning of the road.

[Question] I know that you associate the growth of self-management with the intellectual movement.

[Answer] Every form of activity dies out over time and becomes a mere facade if it is not accompanied by serious thinking that searches for greater prospects as well as for the best current solutions. Such thinking is supposed to be fostered by the CSS...

[Question] ...which you helped to found...

[Answer] ...which was also created by the Council of State. This was one of the first conclusions reached at the 10th PZPR Congress. The resolution to establish the center was passed in July 1986 to meet the real needs of self-management which were signalled by the 5th National Self-Management Conference. Self-management activists then wanted the possibility to organize training of an ever-newer and changing self-management cadre.

[Question] However, is the CSS being limited to the role of a training center?

[Answer] No. It has four functions to fulfill. The first one is indeed the legal and social training of self-management activists. The second function is to interpret regulations on self-management activities and provide legal advice. Its third function fulfills the need to popularize the experiences of self-management councils and therefore conduct studies on that topic. This function is most closely associated with something that I have already mentioned, the intellectual movement around the idea and practice of self-management. The fourth function is the popularization of experiences and ideas in the area of the brigade system and the use of publications and printed materials to promote the proper relationship between workers, the directors and unions, etc. I would like to add that the center's director is Dr. Kazimierz Mzyk who is working with a small but highly-qualified group of people.

[Question] You are the chairman of the CSS's Program Council. What is its role?

[Answer] Yes, I am its chairman and am therefore continuing my relationship with the center which started when I helped develop the concepts for its activities as a member of the Council of State. The Program Council includes the chairmen of worker's councils from various enterprises and this not only keeps it in close touch with real conditions but also gives the self-management aktiv a strong influence over CSS activities. The Program Council also includes representatives from the Sejm Commission on Self-Management with its chairman, Stanislaw Kania and representatives of the Sejm Socioeconomic Council, members of self-management commissions and provincial people's councils, enterprise directors, union activists and representatives of the PTW and the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration, etc. Obviously, the role of the council is, as its name implies, to establish the work programs of the Center for Self-Management Studies.

Workers Self-Management Defended

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Bohdan Krakowski: "In Defense of Worker Self-Management -- to Divide Or to Create?"]

[Text] I attended the meeting of the worker's council at a construction firm. The council adopted its plan for 1987. The members were late in receiving their materials and the speaker flooded them with facts and figures. I saw no sign of interest on the faces of the listeners. The rickety discussion concentrated on wages (why they are so low), taxes (why they are so high), division of profits (why more cannot be allotted for wages) and social and housing funds (how to increase them to get more vacations and lower employee expenses). In principle, no one said anything about how to improve work results. No one even said anything about work supplies.

The democratic election of council members is proof of the trust of their working comrades and recognition for professional and public activity and is also a basis for justifiable personal satisfaction. On the one hand, the worker's council is also a necessary organ for monitoring the efficiency of the administration's actions and also a forum for presenting workers' opinions about the functioning of the enterprise.

I am under the impression that this is an opportunity that is still going unexploited. More and more people are asking a quite significant question: Can the councils compel directors to listen to their workers or will they just outvote the councils?

On the basis of my own observations, I can say that the second tendency is getting the upper hand. Self-Management today faces the same dangers that overcame the the worker's councils of 1956 and the worker's self-government conferences of later years. That would be terribly harmful to the Polish economic model. In the name of effective economic reform and satisfying worker aspirations, we must defend our present concept of self-management.

The resistance of good workers and outstanding engineers and economists to the election of the new worker's councils in many enterprises is a significant warning signal.

We can therefore say that self-management activists have not been satisfied with their experiences of the last few years. The rigors of martial law and the autocratic endeavors of the administration have all limited the activity of worker's councils. An example of this is the competition between the worker's councils and the new trade unions to gain control of social and housing funds and the way in which profits are distributed.

Meanwhile, the intent of the law was to make worker self-management into an organ concerned with the creation of goods and means of growth. Directors often impose their own ideas on the councils and try to use various means of getting them to pass resolutions that they can accept. Some people are right in saying that directors should automatically be excluded from membership in the worker's councils. If the worker's councils can formulate their own demands independently, this would compel managers to act in a more efficient manner.

An ever-better trained and experienced working class cannot be a passive part of economic life. I think that worker self-management is a gratifying field of action for workers and can become an additional driving force for economic reform.

12261

CSO: 2600/461

PRON CHIEF OUTLINES MOVEMENT'S AIMS

PM301011 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Dec 86 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, general secretary of PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) National Council and deputy chairman of the Sejm Legislative Commission, by Remigiusz Jakubowski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Jakubowski] The date of the second PRON congress has been set for May 1987. Today many people ask the following question: What is the movement's future? Will the PRON find new incentives for action within its own system?

[Jaskiernia] The congress campaign has only just started. I think that the debate to be conducted over the next months will bring an answer to your question, as--ultimately--will the second congress itself. At the same time, the proposed subjects for the debate, entitled "Agreement--Revival--Development," contain a partial answer to your question. I should like to point to three aspects of our activity. In the first place, many activists stress the need for a continuation of our present operations. This is because there is no reason to question PRON's original program declaration. However, the continuation of our operations must be connected with two questions. The present social, political, and economic situation differs much from that which prevailed in the years 1982-1983, that is, at the time when PRON was created. The movement must draw appropriate conclusions from this difference. Besides, many commitments pledged by our first congress and concerning changes in our sociopolitical life have been realized: among other things, the Constitutional Tribunal has been created and electoral procedures concerning elections to people's councils and the Sejm have been revised. At the moment we are discussing a canon for the office of ombudsman. There are still questions connected with the social consultations and referenda act to be looked into.

Consequently, the following question presents itself: What is the next step in the political and state system area? The Central Committee report paper delivered at the 10th PZPR Congress contained a proposal for preparing a new constitution of the Polish People's Republic for the 200th anniversary of the 3 May Constitution, that is, 1991. Perhaps we will apply ourselves to the question of modifying the existing constitution.

In the second place, it is necessary to shift the emphasis from the so-called political accord (of 1982-83) to a so-called honest work accord. We must reinforce the trend within the PRON movement which stresses the positive value of solid, honest work.

Third, it is necessary to define individual operational targets for the movement in individual milieus. Today it is not enough to state that we have PRON cells working within enterprises. We must assess the specific nature of the situation in each enterprise and provide a correspondingly suitable basis for the movement's operation there. The same should be done for rural communities, residential estates, schools, and so on.

[Jakubowski] Many novel bodies have been created to complement the existing representative organs. Recently, for example, we have seen the creation of Social Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Council of State. Do these bodies not represent a "threat" to the PRON movement?

[Jaskiernia] First of all, the creation of these bodies should not be viewed in terms of a threat. But I do realize that such an interpretation may arise. Why do they not represent a threat? Well, the PRON movement has never claimed a monopoly on representing a nationwide accord. We must remember that such agreement is reached at the levels of the Sejm forum, people's councils, workers' self-management schemes, and territorial self-government bodies. The PRON movement provides an enhancement of the whole system of accord.

The creation of the Consultative Council merely confirms that we have many different formulas for achieving agreement. The Consultative Council is a strictly advisory body attached to the chairman of the Council of State. Thus, it has a very clearly restricted scope of operation: it advises the head of state on matters of politics, economy, and social issues. The council will, therefore, be unable to assume a large number of functions which are the responsibility of our movement. The PRON movement is a statutory, constitutional formation and as such is not parallel to the Consultative Council. It is, however, worth noting that many PRON activists also sit on the Council.

[Jakubowski] How do you envisage PRON activity in individual enterprises, residential estates, or rural parishes?

[Jaskiernia] This question needs to be asked separately with regard to each such milieu, because the picture of what is expected of the PRON is different in every one of them. Before the first congress we even debated the question whether PRON enterprise cells should be set up at all. The clause in the PRON statutory regulations which envisages the creation of PRON enterprise cells was included largely through the efforts of our activists from the Tychy car factory. The degree of active involvement they have shown is variable. However, things have been changing recently. In the past, the quality of self-reliance was clearly favored and very highly appreciated. Today self-reliance is no longer equated with being left alone. We need to compare our experiences. Moreover, enterprise activists have been stressing the need of a clear definition of the PRON's competence in this area.

It seems that we cannot apply the same standards to the situation in an enterprise and on a residential estate. While an enterprise will already have a sufficiently clearly defined political structure in the form of party organization, trade union, workers' self-management body, and youth organization, in the case of an urban residential estate, for instance, the PRON is usually the only sociopolitical body, apart from a local residential self-management organization, functioning within the milieu.

Does the PRON formula, as that of an intraenterprise parliament, work in practice? We can debate this question at length. We can ask questions to illuminate the situation in any given enterprise. For example, do the PZPR, as the PRON's signatory, along with the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, the Chief Technical Organization, the Polish Economic Society, and the Scientific Society for Organization and Management, as PRON's corporate members, agree to accept the PRON as a forum for their cooperation and a mouthpiece for the articulation of their problems? I believe that this is the crucial question to ask, but it must not be asked in the abstract. We have already seen positive examples, such as that of the Baildon steelworks in Katowice, where the PRON really acts as such a forum and shows initiative. But I must sadly admit that there are other enterprises where the PRON fails to discharge its function.

[Jakubowski] In the light of what you are saying, the following question suggests itself: How does the cooperation between the PRON and the PZPR, the other political parties, and social organizations work out in practice?

[Jaskiernia] As far as official documents and statements go, there is full readiness for cooperation, collaboration, and joint assumption of responsibility. Because when we are talking about the party, the other political parties, and the Catholic and Christian associations such as PAX, the Christian Social Association, or the Polish Catholics Social Union, we cannot talk about cooperation alone: That is not enough. It is about joint responsibility. Those bodies are the signatories and the founders of the PRON. These days, if we hear the question "How are you doing in the PRON?" from, say, a local representative of one of the signatories, it means that there is some basic misunderstanding. The question should not be "How are you doing?" but "How are we doing?" During the December session of the PRON National Council, on the eve of the creation of the Consultative Council, General Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered an address on the subject of the PRON movement. He said, among other things, that the PRON should constitute a forum in which to raise all the difficult questions. There is enough room within it for attitudes of opposition against all kinds of negative and absurd phenomena, against all bureaucratic fossilization, against all deformations and weaknesses in the state machinery. Consolidating the PRON movement and strengthening its function in our society as the broadest platform for the realization of social accord is a historical imperative. We must be persistent in our search for the ways and the methods of bringing our people together. The PRON program has already been proved in practice by the Polish public.

This positive assessment pleases us greatly. However, when the declarations are, so to speak, translated into the language of the voivodship, the parish, or the district, a certain discrepancy is to be observed between the official statements and the actual political practice. What is the nature of this discrepancy? In some cases it is based on undervaluing the role of the PRON in the belief that things are going well and stabilization has already been achieved, and therefore the PRON movement is no longer needed. Or its roots may lie in the search for prestige and power. "We want to be stronger,

therefore we want others to grow weaker." And then the PRON is reduced to a position in which it should not be too vigorous, but should instead provide a convenient, contrasting backdrop for others. Yet other difficulties are caused by personal ambitions of those involved: wrangles over positions of leadership and placings in political hierarchy.

On the whole, it is my personal experience that in most voivodships the attitude to the PRON movement is that of goodwill and approval. However, this still needs to be confirmed in terms of real, active participation in the PRON forum.

[Jakubowski] At the beginning of this interview we mentioned the proposed amendment of the Polish Constitution. In the Central Committee report paper presented at the 10th PZPR Congress it was pointed out that the system of elections to the Sejm and to the people's councils was also in need of changing. Does this mean that we suddenly require greater democracy?

[Jaskiernia] I do not think that the proposed changes in the election procedures are designed to impair their democratic nature. I almost certainly exclude such a possibility. We presented our position on the question of the elections to people's councils in 1984 and the Sejm election procedures in 1985. In both cases the conclusion was that we need further democratization. I am convinced that this is also how we should interpret the announcement contained in the Central Committee report paper.

[Jakubowski] Thank you for talking to me.

/8309

CSO: 2600/587

BRIEFS

PZPR DELEGATION VISITS FINLAND--Helsinki, May 7--A delegation of the PUWP CC with Ernest Kucza, CC member and head of the PUWP Foreign Department, stayed in Finland at the invitation from the Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP). The delegation was received by SDP Chairman Kalevi Sorsa and General Secretary Erkki Liikanen. It also had talks with chairman of the SDP floor group at the Finnish parliament Pertti Paasio and with Secretary for International Affairs of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) Markku Jaaskelainen. The talks focused on the animation of contacts and the PUWP-SDP dialogue on bilateral issues and on mutual confidence building in relations between states with different political systems. The two sides came out for development of bilateral cooperation between the PUWP and the SDP in party and parliamentary fields and also for further development of relations between both states. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 8 May 87] /8309

JARUZELSKI INTERVIEWED ON MOSCOW TV--Warsaw, May 10--PUWP CC First Secretary, President of the Council of State, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski granted an interview to the Soviet television. The interview was conducted by well-known political commentator Valeriy Korzin. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 10 May 87] /8309

GOVERNMENT-SEJM COOPERATION--Warsaw, May 7--Premier Zbigniew Messner has put Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski in charge of cooperation between the government and the Sejm (Polish parliament). Under the resolution passed by the Council of Ministers last year all government's cooperation with the Sejm is to be coordinated by an empowered vice premier. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0846 GMT 7 May 87 LD] /8309

PZPR GROUP MEETS FINNISH CP--Helsinki, May 9--The PUWP CC delegation headed by CC member, head of party's Foreign Department Ernest Kucza, now on a visit to Finland, met with representatives of the leaders of the two communist parties acting in Finland--the Communist Party of Finland (SKP) and the Communist Party of Finland (UNITY). The sides expressed the conviction that today's struggle against the threat of destruction of civilization and for consolidation of global peace were the common tasks of all the communists, all forces of reason and realism. The sides discussed the prospects for cooperation between the PUWP and Finnish Communists. The meeting with the Communist Party of Finland (UNITY) was attended by its Chairman Taisto Sinisalo and General Secretary Jouko Kajanoja. In the PUWP-SKP talk the Finnish side was presented by its General Secretary Esko Vainiopaja and Secretary for International Affairs Irina Lindeberg. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1815 GMT 9 May 87] /8309

ARAB LEAGUE'S KLIBI ARRIVES—Warsaw, May 9—Chedli Klibi, the secretary general of the League of Arab States arrived in Poland today. His visit is connected to an informative mission on the current situation in Arab countries, concerning the Middle East conflict in particular. In the afternoon Chedli Klibi met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1508 GMT 9 May 87] /8309

AWARDS TO HISTORIANS—On Thursday [7 May], the Garrison Officers' Club behind the Iron Gate gathered together a group of military historians. Representatives of the party and state authorities and ministry heads met with these uniformed academics. General Jozef Baryla, PZPR Central Committee secretary, presented state decorations to deserving employees of the Military Historical Institute. Taking part in the meeting was the minister of science, higher education and technology, Professor Benon Miskiewicz and the minister's deputy for general affairs, Deputy Defense Minister Gen Antoni Jasinski [name and title as heard]. Congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the anniversary were presented to the assembled by the head of the main political administration of the Polish Armed Forces, Lieutenant Gen Tadeusz Szacilo. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 10 May 87 LD] /8309

PERSONNEL CHANGE—On the application of the minister of education and upbringing, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Wacław Kupper from the post of under secretary of state in this ministry in connection with his appointment as director of the SD Central Committee Sejm Department. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 May 87 p 2 AU] /8309

CDR COORDINATOR VISITS POLAND—Warsaw—Armando Acosta Cordero, national coordinator of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR], has talked to numerous leaders of Polish social organizations. Acosta expressed satisfaction over his first visit to Poland and said he was favorably impressed with everything he had seen. The CDR leader met last night with personalities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the National Agreement of Labor Unions [as heard], and the League of Polish Women, among others. Acosta has been in Poland for the last 6 days. He was a guest at the second congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth that was held in the Polish capital from 8 to 10 May. [Text] [Havana Radio Periodico del Aire in Spanish 2130 GMT 12 May 87 FL] /9738

CSO: 3248/317

BRIEFS

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Maria Ghitulica is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Iasi County People's Council, Comrade Vasile Carp is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County People's Council and Comrade Dumitru Stefanescu is appointed deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 13, 15 Apr 87 p 2] /9274

GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Constantin is relieved of his position as deputy prime minister of the government, receiving other tasks. Comrade Ioan Comanescu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 13, 15 Apr 87 p 2] /9274

CSO: 2700/205

HIGHLIGHTS FROM 1985 MILITARY R&D COMPETITION

[Editorial Report] The November 1986 issue of the professional military monthly journal PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH (Ground Forces Review) is devoted in its entirety to highlighting the most noteworthy contributions made by members of the armed forces to the development of new technologies and operating procedures for military use during 1985. The inventions and innovations spotlighted in this issue are the byproducts of a standing annual competition sponsored by the the "National Commission of the Ministry of National Defense for the Promotion of New Initiatives and Innovations." The ninth annual running of the competition was held in 1985 under the programmatic title "Exemplary Military Discipline and the Model Performance of Services and Alert Duty Units -- A Prerequisite of High Combat Readiness." The editors of PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH note that all entries in this competition are "screened by facilities of the central command headquarters of the military districts and service arms, reviewed by specialized scientific research centers, and finally appraised and ranked by the National Commission's judging teams." The listing of these inventions and innovations, accompanied by brief descriptions and occasional photographs, is subdivided by Poland's three military districts (Pomeranian, Silesian, and Warsaw) plus another general heading for the country's "Military Education System." These categories are further subdivided into the functional areas in which these inventions or innovations are applied, e.g., command and control, automation and modernization, firearm devices and attachments, etc. Selected examples of some of this new or refined hardware are listed below (omitting textual descriptions and the names of the inventors) according to the same categorization.

POMERANIAN MILITARY DISTRICTCommand and Control

Short-wave signal concentrator KFSO-10/2;
field command post dispatching system (photo);
UD-22 field telephone switching system (photo);
PUD-10A field telephone switching system (photo);

Communications Equipment Modernization

R-123 radio power circuit fault finder (photo);
a transportable installation for the training of radio intercept and fixing subunits (schematic);

Engineer-sapper Designs

A detonations and shot counter (photo of faceplate);
a PTS transporter-mounted 4 x pile driving system (schematic);
a technique for erecting crossings over ice-covered water barriers using the PP-64 bridgelaying set.

Firearm Devices and Tools

- A new tool (shop and field versions) for the vertical adjustment of sights on 7.62 mm AK rifles to facilitate sighting in (diagram);
- a peep-sight adjustment tool for model 63 machine pistols (diagram);
- a reusable hand grenade fuse for training purposes (diagram);
- a reload hatch handle shock absorber for the safer and easier reloading of ZU-23-2 cannon (diagram);
- a PKT machine gun reload assist device for use in 172M vehicles (photo);
- a BMP-mounted PKT machine gun attachment permitting the firing of single shots using cannon and PKT electronic triggers (diagram and photo);
- a BMP leveling mechanism (photo);

Automation and Modernization

- A design for the modernization of the R-2 TOPAS command vehicle;
- an "automatic computing system" consisting of a "scientific calculator, program generator, and a converter;" all parts available on the domestic market; used for geodetic problemsolving and artillery fire direction (photo);
- an integrated chemical troops training center (floorplan diagram);
- a contamination detection chemical reagents kit for use in training exercises (photo);
- an integrated electronic security system for guard duty officer check-in monitoring and alarm signal activation (schematic).

SILESIA MILITARY DISTRICT

Imitators and Simulators for Training Purposes

- M-27 firing simulator for 125mm tank cannon rounds (schematic);

Systems, Instruments, Tools

- A 100mm tank cannon barrel dilation testing device (photo);
- a tool for mounting sighting instruments on rgppanc-2 (antitank grenade launchers) weapons (diagram);
- a diagnostic and repair kit for testing and repairing truck- or tank-mounted night vision devices in the shop or in the field (schematic);
- a tool kit for the breakdown and assembly of the P-64 pistol (diagram, photo).

Modifications and Modernizations

A plan for the modification of rail passenger cars into fixed field command posts (photos);

a plan for the modification of a rail passenger car into a fixed proving ground washroom (photo);

modification of the AKM rifle cleaning kit for cleaning the barrels of AKMS automatic pistols (diagram, photos);

a plan for a fixed combat command post and fire direction room (diagram);

a Morse Code telegraph keyboard with memory circuitry (schematic, photo);

Security Devices

A storage and off-limits areas monitoring and alarm system (photo);

WARSAW MILITARY DISTRICT

Techniques for Prolonging the Service Life of Engineering Equipment

A work station for the drydock repair of KH-200 cutters (photos);

a Star-266 truck cable hitch for towing pontoon bridge segments (diagram);

a work station for the adjustment and repair of brakes on PP-64 vehicles (photo).

Electronic Equipment

A GS-1 signal generator "used to perform remote testing jobs associated with the preparation of cable terminals, dialing telephone lines, searching for line flaws, and testing for eavesdropping" (photo);

an R-120 and R-124 radio circuit tester (photo);

Weapons and Equipment Maintenance

A design for the modification of the ICC/KT-1 box container into a subunit-level training-ground weapons arsenal (photo).

THE MILITARY EDUCATION SYSTEM

Training Aids

A working model fiber-optic telephone line transmitter-receiver;

an assembly board for the design and testing of digital circuits;

a training software package for the setting and cataloging of friendly-fire control data for use in "Antracyt" scale-model artillery firing ranges;

a ZX Spectrum microcomputer-based training software package for the simulation and display of aerial combat situations.

Command-Control

A control console for directing the fire and tactical movements of anti-aircraft defense subunits in training (diagram);

a simulated detonations sequence control device for mounting on plastic mockup tables in fire control training rooms (diagram);

an automated command-control training room equipped with 32 monitored command-post stations and 6 monitored staff-level command-post stations;

a portable communications center for the direction of tactical training exercises (photo).

Trainers, Models, Imitators

a training software package for simulating fire directed against moving tank targets using the ZX Spectrum microcomputer (reproduction of typical screen display);

an LUT-2 laser-guided antitank round training system (He-Ne laser imitates trajectory and projectile) (photo);

a class-5 BMP pneumatic systems simulator (photo);

a cut-away training simulator of a class-5 BMP (photo);

a stand-mounted mechanism-teaching aid for instruction in the loading of BMP turret guns (photo);

an adaptor device allowing compatibility between the AIP-68 radioactivity imitator and the DPS-68M1 geiger counter (photo).

Electronic Systems

An electronic alarm system for the protection of post weapons arsenals (photo, schematic);

Modernized Communications Equipment

A program for use with the ODRA-1300 computer for the automatic generation of keys used in the coding of variable radio call signals and cryptonyms;

a speaker-amplifier attachment for PT-85 telephones (schematic).

BRIEFS

POLISH MINICOPTER--The first minicopter in the CEMA countries will be produced in Poland at the WSK [Transportation Equipment Manufacturing] "PZL-Swidnik" plant, which up to this point has also been manufacturing Mi-2 and Sokol models. This will be Poland's third postwar helicopter. The design work has just barely gotten under way, but some of the basic technical data are already known. A working mockup has also been completed. "Demand for small, lightweight helicopters is very high not only in Poland but also abroad," says Jerzy Jurak, the WSK-Swidnik press spokesman. "Instead of using heavy helicopters for training, patrol and utility flights, it will be possible to use the "W-4" light, four-passenger, single-engine helicopters. They are highly maneuverable and comfortable." Design engineers have been working on the new model of the helicopter for three years; therefore, it is possible that the test model will go into production by 1990. For the time being, all other details about this helicopter are shrouded in strict secrecy, but interest in the new helicopter is still very great. [Text] [Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 14 Apr 87 p 1] /8309

CSO: 2600/548

EFFORTS TO INCREASE CONTAINERIZED TRANSPORTATION

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Esat Ypi and Sotirag Gjordeni: "The Way Is Open for the Intensification of Containerized Transportation"]

[Text] Because of the use of containers up to now, labor productivity has increased by 7.1 times and expenditures for each ton-goods were reduced 5.2 times. Some ways for extending them to all transportation.

On April 6, last year, the vessel "Himara" left the port of Durres for the port of Vlore with a shipment of a new packaging. In its granaries, the vessel had loaded 14 large metal boxes, closed and sealed, with a volume of 11.5 cubic meters and a loading capacity of 4 tons. Those were the first containers. Thus, our sea transportation embarked on the path of the most advanced technology known so far by this branch of our economy. These 14 containers brought sacks of products from the Durres chemical enterprise to the agricultural supply branch in Vlore. On April 24 [of the same year], these containers were sent back to the port of Durres on the vessel "Saranda," loaded with products for export produced by the garment enterprise in Vlore. Since then these containers have circulated regularly. By the end of December more than 600 tons of goods were transported by containers.

What does this period of experimentation show? Our transportation sector, as a result of its technical-material base, today is completely capable of introducing containers and, even on an intensive basis. During all this period there was no damage, no complaints and no damage done to the quality of goods transported by containers. This fact shows that now goods are handled only twice: when they are put into containers at the warehouse on departure and when they are removed from containers at the receiving warehouse.

The use of containers noticeably increased yields and reduced expenditures in the loading-unloading process and in transportation. Thus, in the working processes with containerized goods labor productivity increased 7.1 times while expenditures for each ton-goods decreased 5.2 times.

Now the way is completely open for the intensification of containerized transportation; therefore, with sharpened pencil in hand, enlightened by the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress for introducing new technologies in transportation, let us struggle so that this progressive technology can be further expanded.

This year the intensification of containerized transportation will be achieved by utilizing, first of all, the decks of vessels. Transportation to the decks of vessels is carried out without expenditures; therefore, it is of great profit. A vessel of 1,000-ton capacity can load on deck up to 36 pieces of containers during each trip. According to calculations, during this year 54,146 tons of containerized goods can be transported on decks of vessels. This makes it possible to reduce the cost in leks for each ton-mile by 16.4 percent.

Rapid measures are being taken in the sea ports for intensifying work with containers. The flow of goods for 1987 has been established and determination is being made in regard to which goods should be transported exclusively by containers. For the first 6 months of this year it is planned to produce 50 new containers for transportation inside the country.

Nevertheless, other measures must be taken; here are some of them: our vessels have no means to hold containers firmly on decks or in granaries; they are essential for their safety during navigation. The fleet itself, or with the assistance of the dockyard, must solve this matter as soon as possible because the number of containers is increasing and the vessels must also navigate in bad weather. Another problem is the tight closing of containers. This task is being solved by the specialists of the rubber plant. The biggest problem that presently concerns containerization is the mechanization of loading and unloading. Containerization insures complete effectiveness when it is carried out on the basis of a plan from the warehouse of the producer to the warehouse of the consumer. Containers are useful not only to transportation but, we would say, they are more useful to producers and users. Therefore, is it fair for those enterprises and responsible ministries not to struggle to solve the mechanization of loading and unloading of containers? A powerful enterprise which sells or expects [to receive] hundreds tons of goods a year [has the means] to produce or to provide a simple switch in front of its warehouse, such as a "flag" crane of 5-ton lifting capacity and so forth. A solution can also be to put an automatic crane at the disposal of the containerized transportation section, initially in the main cities and, later, expand it gradually throughout the territory.

Containerization is of greater interest for foreign trade, because of the great quantity of goods and the hard currency expenditures made for transportation. For a powerful traditional exporter, such as the "Ali Kelmendi" food combine in Tirana, the transportation of goods by containers, from its warehouse to the warehouse of the foreign country, is of great economic value amounting to about 13,000,000 leks of annual income. A railroad branching is attached to the combine; a simple new type of crane of 10-ton capacity has been designed for the handling of containers, and containerized exporting to foreign countries may begin during the second 6-months of this year.

Therefore, the way is open for containerization of goods for transportation inside and outside the country.

9159/8309

CSO: 2109/33

LOSS, IMPOVERISHMENT OF MINERALS DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Faruk Myrtaj: "Losses and Impoverishment of Minerals Must Become a Continuing Concern"]

[Text] It is possible and necessary to do much more to prevent losses and impoverish minerals. The drawing up of specific methods for every mine is the first step, but increasing the awareness of the working collectives is the key to the improvement of the indicators dealing with losses and impoverishments. There is room for strengthening our monitoring.

The fruitful utilization of the profitable minerals must not only assure extraction at lowest cost, but also at minimal loss. This assumes importance because of the fact that mineral losses have an unrepeatable nature; they cannot be compensated for. The mineral which one cannot extract and bring to the surface (for the system of utilization, for example), is lost forever.

Of course, the task and main concern at the mine is the fulfillment of indicators of the economic plan which should always be increased. This is what "takes" the greatest amount of time of workers and specialists at the grassroots, and here there is nothing irregular. Worries may increase in a mine because of the distribution of the plan tasks which is in disproportion with the periods or because of irregularity in work. In these cases, (at the end of the 3-month or 6-month period), trying to fulfill the plan at any cost, workers use methods of utilization which are not sufficiently scientific and correct. This has a direct effect not only on the failure to execute technical rules, but also on the effective methods of utilization which most completely determine the indicators of losses and impoverishments.

The problem of accuracy, knowledge and reduction of losses has not been neglected. Nevertheless, you can often see that work is not systematically and scientifically based. A number of studies have been carried out (in Gur te Kuq, Spac, Fushe-Arrez, Mborje-Drenove and in special blocks of other mines); however, these studies must be generalized and executed. The Directorate of Mines, in cooperation with the ISP [Institute of Studies and Designs] for mines has aimed, from time to time, at improving the methods of indicators of losses and impoverishments; but, it is difficult to draw up a

single method for all mines, because every mine has its own particular nature. On the other hand, you must not think that only methods would solve the problem of losses and impoverishments.

Which are the obstacles that make it difficult to follow the regular process of their indicators and which must be overcome?

First: there is not always a precise re-calculation of their reserves and average content. Only after determining the limits of the mineral block, can we schedule our work for averaging production (by coordinating the utilization of blocks with different mineral percentages).

Second: the kinds of losses are not clarified everywhere (that is the origin, the reasons and the place where they occur).

Third, and most important: losses and impoverishment are not always taken into consideration in solving the system of utilization. Their norming is as important as the plan tasks; however, the attention that is given to them is not the same.

Fourth: losses and impoverishment are not always determined with precision or, when this is done, the process of their reduction is not carried out. It was accepted a long time ago that it is possible to weigh the minerals (at least at the collection points); but, there is not much movement in this direction. (We produce our own weighing machines.)

A strict scientific discipline in regard to pursuing and improving their indicators is an essential factor. If the indicators of losses and impoverishments are satisfactory in Mborje-Drenove, Gur Te Kuq and other mines, this is because people work in these mines. In Mborje-Drenove, for example, because of the execution of the method of crashing with plane scraper it is possible to exploit strata of 40 centimeters deep which in designs are not considered as industrial. The fact that in Prrenjas and other mines the problem of losses causes anxiety shows that there still exist shortcomings in regard to these indicators. In all our mines, as a matter of fact, in every shift there are workers who deal exclusively with matters concerning the quality of production. Often, these workers are satisfied with tests and laboratory analyses. The monitoring and verification of these indicators can become more skilled and more fruitful if the specialists are better involved in this action. The problem of the proper management of the mining reserves must be submitted to the most rigorous state control. We think so because, in practice, it happens that the institution or the responsible ministry demands a report on these indicators. People at the grassroots do not hesitate to send letters in accordance with the demands divided into indicators for each year, for each 6-month period or for each 3-month period! But, how accurate are these figures? The answer is not always due to the impossibility of drawing out such compact indicators.

A powerful mining economy is faced with the solution of problems of losses and impoverishment [of minerals]; this is an economy which possesses not only a powerful technical-material base, but also skilled specialists. Therefore, it is fully natural that great demands be set forth before these capacities in order to respond to the important tasks assigned by the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party.

EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE STANDARDS FOR STEEL, OTHER METALS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Shpend Kahremani: "Metallography and Its Standardization"]

[Text] In our country today, as a result of the continuing concern of the party, the number of workers involved in studies in the field of metallography and the number of metallographic laboratories have been increased. All our large bases and a number of small bases of the metal industry are equipped with such laboratories. Thus, we can mention our scientific research institutions--the ISP Metalurgjike [the Metallurgical Institute of Studies and Designs], the ISP No 6 [the Institute of Studies and Designs No 6], and "Enver Hoxha" University in Tirana and others. All these laboratories are fully supplied with the necessary apparatuses. But, what is their effectiveness, how are they paving the way for the production of our steels?

In general, good work is being done everywhere. The results of the ISP Metalurgjike, in determining the physical-mechanical characteristics of Albanian brands, of their critical points and the standardization of products of the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine are of a good scientific level. Also, the scientific research work of the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Faculty in influencing the chrome and nickel elements in the processing work, in the microstructural condition during thermal processing and also in the resistance to wear of our steel in construction is a work which will lay scientific foundations for the processing of steel in the machine industry. Good results have also been achieved by the ISPM [the Institute of Mechanical Studies and Designs] in the standardization of brand dimensions and criteria for the selection of materials.

Despite these achievements, shortcomings are observed in some laboratories, especially in those of the machine bases. These shortcomings are found in work organization and in the erroneous conception of problems. It is a fact that apparatuses and the language used by metallographers are somehow specific; but, their relations with production (with the turner, the milling machine operator or the adjuster) are very close. Let us take a simple example; during the daily work at a machine plant, a turner may lose hours working on a single part. In addition to the hours that he has lost, this turner will also waste material cutting the part (material which often is imported); as a result, the quality of the part produced will not be up to requirements. Why? Because

the part which the turner is manufacturing has not been given the necessary thermal treatment. Thus, the metallographer, observing the microstructure of the metal of the part and, concretely, the dimension of the piece and the depth of the concrete or of the molding, interferes in the thermal department and tries to avoid lost hours and poor quality products. He interferes in various technological processes of production by correcting the parameters when they do not meet required conditions.

Of great importance is the problem of standardization in the field of metallography. It is known that the standards of all fields of industry are the expression of achievements and of determined levels of technology. They, among other things, discipline production and its control and place them on more scientific bases. For example, today we have some technical conditions and state standards for steel and its products. Their publication in collections, in the form of books, is a very good work done by our specialists. In them there are a number of methods of the various tests carried out with steels and other data and requirements. These standards contain various microstructural pictures that are useful for the knowledge of basic structures and the different levels for the evaluation of structures. The publication of these pictures should have been of better quality, so that the information to be obtained from them would be more complete.

The great work which is being done today in all our country for the standardization of the brands of steels, for the reduction of imports and for the best use of them sets forth the necessity to draft some other standards in the field of metallography such as, for example, the standards for metallographic elements, defects, reagents, impurities and so forth. These standards would fill the gap that is noted in this field.

The sector for standards at the Institute of Standardizations and Mechanical Designs, in cooperation with the "Enver Hoxha" auto-tractor combine, the "steel of the party" metallurgical combine, the "Petro Papi" plant for instruments in Korce and the Technological Department at "Enver Hoxha" Tirana University has began work for drafting these standards. The first results are satisfactory. We believe that this work must be continued. It is necessary that in these standards we express in the best manner the qualitative indicators of our steels. They must be published as soon as possible and in good quality. The possibility exists for our standards to be among the best in regard to contemporary levels of content and form. This is most essential and a just demand.

Albanian steel, compared with the brands of some other countries, because of its mineral nature and content of chrome and nickel, has somewhat special characteristics and qualities. In these conditions, it is necessary that in our standards we abandon the classical definitions of some brands and present new definitions that would express their characteristics and qualities. This must be done because often our steels are processed in the same way as those of foreign brands. This often causes anomalies and serious consequences. In

order that this work be done in the best manner possible, it is necessary that, along with our definitions, we give our standards the parameters of processing systems that suit these steels. Of course, this is a difficult work; but, fully realizable. It is the duty not only of the metallographers, but of all specialists, technologists and working people who deal with production and processing of our steels to consider the solution of these matters as the slogan of their daily work.

It is not enough to say that we would use that much percentage of our steel; on the contrary, we must know how this steel will go into the machine and its expected life span. This is the only way to fulfill Comrade Ramiz Alia's important recommendation to the working people of the "steel of the party" metallurgical combine that our metal industry must open the path to Albanian steel more willingly.

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ECONOMIST CENSURES ECONOMIC ADVISERS, BUREAUCRACY

Poznan WPROST in Polish No 12, 22 Mar 87 pp 4-6

[Interview with Jozef Kaleta, rector of the Academy of Economics in Wroclaw, by Piotr Grochmalski]

[Text] [Question] They are beginning to say in Warsaw that you have a "foul mouth."

[Answer] Only certain gentlemen from the establishment can say that. Evidently they are not pleased that someone is pointing the finger of scorn at them and is criticizing them. Anyway, these are the same people who in the second half of the 1970's were also irritated with me because I found fault with Gierek and his crew for hampering reform and expanding the administration. The situation repeated itself in 1980 and 1981 when I said that we must immediately institute a thorough reform of the economy, that the central authorities must be restructured, that our most important matter is foreign trade, that we must obtain foreign capital, that we must assist in the organization of companies, that we cannot continue to base our entire economy on coal, etc. Now they admit that I was right. This is not much satisfaction to me.

[Question] One would get the impression that you are very bold and uncompromising.

[Answer] Well, what am I supposed to do? Watch and do nothing while we tighten the noose around our neck? Fortunately, there are more and more of us who are beginning to speak out. After all, even the official public opinion polls conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center show that the majority of the people are not satisfied with what is being done in the economic sphere. Surveys conducted among our student body show that three-fourths of these young people are totally critical of the administration's actions. Anyway, it is hard not to sound an alarm in a situation in which the important economic growth indicators show very clearly that our economy is falling into a stagnation even deeper than that of the pre-crisis period.

[Question] You are really saying that "our economic situation is much more serious than it was in 1980."

[Answer] Unfortunately, those are the facts. If we include our debt in the socialist countries, then during the last 5 years it grew by \$10 billion. Our foreign trade is collapsing before our very eyes. Even in 1980 we were in 29th place in world export. Today, together with Albania, we occupy last place in Europe and 40th place in the world. Also, our budget deficit grew to a sum of over 600 billion zlotys, and as a result of the government's anti-inflationary policies, the inflationary gap widened. Disinvestment in enterprise assets is occurring at an alarming rate. The devastation of the natural environment is reaching such proportions that we are beginning to talk about ecological disaster. The standard of living is also falling. We are now building less than half the housing we were building in 1978. At this moment our indicator of the number of apartments being built per 1,000 inhabitants is the lowest among European socialist countries and half as much as the Western countries who are building the least. And yet we are among the countries with the highest housing requirements. Municipal management is in a state of increasing havoc. Conditions in the health services are alarming. The longevity of people in the productive age has fallen by 2 years... It is hard to talk about all this... Such are the costs of failing to institute complete economic reform.

[Question] According to many economists, this year may be our last chance.

[Answer] If a diametric turn is not made in our present economic policy, then let us not kid ourselves, we will not be able to avoid a catastrophe the results of which even the next generations will feel. And yet many years ago, at the Ninth Party Congress, at the ZSL and SD Congresses, at the Congress of Economists, and in the Sejm, a clear answer to the question as to what must be done was formulated: We must make a radical, comprehensive reform of the economy within 2 years. Those were the decisions made. And I think that nothing has changed in this regard. Instead, we made attempts to "resuscitate" the economy by various piecemeal measures, as, for example, by attempting to balance it or by job certification. Except that the economy operates on the principle of "communicating vessels," and therefore all elements involved in its functioning must be improved. And this was not done and is not being done. Anyway, we know all of this.

[Question] Does this surprise you?

[Answer] When Stypulowski, a government adviser, publishes a book authorized by Baka and Wroblewski, i.e., the very people responsible for reform, in which he demonstrates that it is impossible to apply reform and that we should put the idea to rest, then certainly we have a clear answer as to why things are as they are and not otherwise.

[Question] Are you not overrating the role of the government advisers?

[Answer] I have reason to believe that to a certain degree it is precisely they who can be blamed for the successive crises in Poland. For example, I will be so bold as to say that Bobrowski had a very great influence on government policy. After all, he was the one who persistently maintained that a thorough reform cannot be made under conditions of an imbalanced economy. And his opinion apparently prevailed, because the government actually began to

implement such an economic strategy, persuading society that as economic equilibrium is restored, the mechanisms of reform will be restored. As a result, we regressed a few steps. Or Bobrowski's assertion that our fate depends on coal—if there is coal, all will be well. And then Madej in the Sejm presented three variants of a socioeconomic plan based on the amount of coal output. Certainly this was ill-advised. How can one plan the development of the economy based on such precarious foundations!

[Question] But Bobrowski is no longer there.

[Answer] But for 6 years he occupied that position and gave bad advice. Anyway, there are others still there, including those who "advised" Jaszczuk, so as to later maneuver the Gierek crew into a crisis situation and bring about its downfall.

[Question] Isn't that a bit harsh?

[Answer] I know whereof I speak. I am watching my words but this does not mean that I will mince them. There has already been too much mutual tweaking. Maybe it is high time to open the windows and air out the rooms.

[Question] You say that the opponents to turning our economy upside down are also present in the government.

[Answer] I am not discovering America. This has been known for a long time. Anyway, the Warsaw press has published the names of all of the ministers who even in an official way have come out against reform. Furthermore, when the government makes use of advisers who maintain that we should employ "old, proven methods," then certainly we have a complete picture of the situation. Or another example. Three months after the 10th Party Congress, at which it is said that the reformation of the economy must be accelerated, the government submits to the Sejm a draft amendment of 11 laws which are nothing else but an attempt to return to the old practices. Is this not vivid proof that the administration is against economic reform?

[Question] From the very beginning we knew that the organizational rules of the economy could not be changed without a thorough restructuring of the central government. We knew also that this could not be done by the people who heretofore successfully blocked all attempts at reform. Recently some rather important changes have been made in filling job positions in the government. Could this be preliminary to other, more decisive, moves?

[Answer] I would like it to be so. But right now this is the usual shifting of people from one position to another. However hard it may be for us to swallow, we must finally tell ourselves that the system of negative selection pertains mainly to the central structures.

[Question] The pressure to reform the top authorities is apparently so great that recently the administration deemed it necessary to explain to society that the number of officials is shrinking before their eyes from one year to the next.

[Answer] I find all of these explanations amusing. I recently heard how Minister Rybicki maintained that we have proportionally less people in the administration than anywhere else, and if there are even a little more than it is because they are involved in such additional matters as the organization of the municipal economy, health service, or social welfare. But this is probably one of the reasons why it functions worse than in other countries. Furthermore, probably everyone of us knows that the administration in the economy is camouflaged. After all, studies show that in the average enterprise 30 percent of the people are officials. Their basic duty is to prepare various idiotic reports for the central authorities, which no one reads anyway. Nor will anyone be able to persuade me that various associations or central cooperative unions make up the economy. Within the framework of a normal economy, these bodies would have no reason to exist. What we have, therefore, is a huge administration, whose size, numerically, we are not even able to determine. In any case, isn't it strange that we read in Baka's official report that employment in the administration has increased greatly and then a short time later we are being persuaded that it is exactly the opposite? Particularly, when it is apparent to the naked eye that the administration is swelling before our eyes.

[Question] Certainly only someone naive would believe that the central authorities would reduce their own powers. So who would do this?

[Answer] In the Soviet Union and in China the party itself removes the "sacred cows" in the central administration. In our country too, only the party is able to do something so drastic. Although what is happening now must arouse serious concern as to the ability to perform such a castration on the organs of administration. If this is not done, reform will continue to be only an unfulfilled dream.

[Question] But if word is to become deed, what, in your opinion, should the central authorities look like?

[Answer] Transparent. The Sejm should really be the highest authority in the state. Thus far, practically speaking, all important economic decisions are made outside of the parliament. Also, all committees in the Council of Ministers, and all councils and commissions with governing authority should be immediately dissolved. It is also high time to transform the Planning Commission from a superministry to a government staff organ. Finally, it is also high time to eliminate all branch ministries and transform most of the obligatory associations into voluntary ones.

[Question] Will there be a sufficient number of management positions for the ministers who have been released?

[Answer] And where is it written that they have to have a lifetime management position in the administrative apparatus?

[Question] Right now that is how it is. The three S's [self-financing, self-dependence, self-management], the foundation of reform, for all practical purposes, do not exist. Anyway, according to you, because no one has officially revoked them.

[Answer] It is easy to demonstrate that that is so, if only by using the example of the self-financing of enterprises. At the moment, approximately 90 percent of their profit is taken from them. So what does a hungry person do with freedom? He agrees to have the bureaucrat feed him, if that is the only way he can survive. That is why at the conference in 1985 all Polish professors concerned with financial law and finance--including me--severely criticized this excessive fiscal stringency which effectively stifles the enterprise of the plants.

[Question] And the result?

[Answer] One more tax was added, namely payments into a fund to service the foreign debt.

[Question] Throughout the entire world, the practice is exactly the opposite. At times of economic breakdown, the number and size of taxes is greatly reduced.

[Answer] I will give you one example of wise tax policy. Greece, in 1950, was in last place in Europe in regard to housing construction. In such a critical situation, the parliament exempted all firms involved in construction and in the production of construction materials from income tax for 10 years. What happened? As a result, many enterprising people with capital rushed into housing construction. Strong competition arose and costs dropped. In 7 years Greece attained second place in Europe in housing construction. However, in our country, with a great deal of fanfare, we create a special council, dozens of banning and directing regulations are spat out, and we wait for some kind of miracle in housing construction. Perhaps it is high time we follow the example of others and stop being afraid of allowing people to demonstrate their ingenuity. Whereas throughout the entire world all possible credit and tax preferences are given to the best firms, in our country we oppress these firms, thus helping to keep the weaker ones alive.

[Question] The question is, how long can we apply social criteria in the economy...

[Answer] Until we all have big... It is true that officially we are saying that we are struggling with egalitarianism, but actually this lazy-people's philosophy continues to hold sway in our country. We rescue bad firms at the expense of the good ones. We discourage those who work well and earn well, burdening them with all kinds of progressive, equalization and an entire host of other taxes, in order to give additional assistance to the lazy ones. As a result, equally and "fairly," we are all sinking to the bottom. And those who do not agree with this have to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Gorceyca and Gajecki, for example, while they were in our country, could not achieve anything because they kept colliding with the law. Finally they went to Sweden, made some important discoveries and became billionaires. And after all, this is not an isolated example. More and more Polish names are appearing among distinguished designers in the West.

[Question] You see only the brightness of reform. But its opponents say that putting it into effect will result in drastic price increases and that it will

reduce society's standard of living to such an extent that most of us will be living on the brink of poverty.

[Answer] I am very familiar with that tune because it was used to frighten people way back in 1956. But I believe that there is no reasonable basis for this to occur. Why? Because if today the state ensures us low prices of coal, steel, gas or housing, it is not because it is magnanimous, but because we are paying for it.

[Question] How?

[Answer] We have low wages. In our country they constitute 10 percent of the value of sales, thus relatively they are less than one-third of what they are in the Western countries. Subsidies for housing, for example, are much larger for rich people than for poor people. I will be so bold as to say that it is the poor people who are now on the huge waiting lists for housing. But through the ruthless taxes, which reduce the size of their wages, they pay for those who already have housing. Does this make any kind of social sense? Why, therefore, should we continue with this absurdity? Or another matter, even more strange: Right now the rural residents are subsidizing us who live in the city.

[Question] Of their own free will?

[Answer] The mechanism is simple. They buy all kinds of industrial articles. Except that an entire multitude of various taxes are calculated into the prices of these articles, which later go to subsidize city transportation, water pipelines, etc. This is the reason why the prices of these products are so high. And why should people pay for something that they do not use at all?

[Question] The opponents of reform also scare the people by telling them that it, presumably, will cause enormous unemployment.

[Answer] Ridiculous. After all, it is huge at this very moment, but it appears in hidden form. All we have to do is count up the number of shutdowns in our enterprises. I believe these figures would require no further comment. So let us not fool ourselves. I cannot imagine that as a result of reform unemployment would be greater than it is now.

9295

CSO: 2600/506

BRIEFS

PRC ECONOMISTS' VISIT ENDS--Warsaw, 21 Apr--The Chinese agricultural economists' delegation, headed by Du Runsheng, director of the Chinese Institute of Rural Policy at the Chinese Communist Party CC Secretariat ended its eleven-day visit here today. The delegation got acquainted with the economic and rural research in Poland, agricultural production, as well as agricultural policy together with its implementation. The Chinese visitors were received by Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski, Political Bureau alternate member and PUPP CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1240 GMT 21 Apr 87 LD] /9738

CSO: 2020/94

SURVEY SHOWS MORE TRUST IN CURRENT 'POLITICAL ORDER'

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by [MM]: "Poles of the 1980's -- Comprehensive Sociological Studies"]

[Text] What are we, the Poles of the 1980's? What do we want and for what are we striving? What are our needs, values and beliefs? How do we assess and understand the political and economic reality around us? How do we see our future and what is it we feel we must do to make that vision real?

A group of scholars from Warsaw University and the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology have attempted to answer these questions. The full title of the research program is "The functioning of the state and the cultural policy of Polish society". The work of this section was directed by professors Doctor Franciszek Ryszka, Docent Stanislaw Gebethner and Doctor Ryszard Grodzicki.

The authors of these studies intended for them to be useful in creating a dynamic image of permanent and variable elements in the views and attitudes that Poles have about important questions of political life and the elements that determine the character and substance of our political culture. The report's conclusions are an analysis of public attitudes that were reconstructed on the basis of the opinions expressed to specific questions on the poll. However, the study is not just a public opinion poll and that was never its purpose because its time horizon extends to the 1990's.

The poll consisted of a collection of questions about various areas of our life. Some of them had already been presented during previous polls in 1980 and 1984. Comparison of the answers has made it possible to reach conclusions, to determine the direction taken by changes in our way of thinking, perception and assessment of reality and to determine the changes that are most often the result of certain political events.

The answers to the following questions provided interesting material for analysis: "Please examine the list of persons below and say which individual

you most feel can be trusted," and "Please look at the list of institutions and say which one most deserves your trust".

The first of the observable tendencies was an increase in the degree of faith in persons representing the existing political order. This faith was especially obvious in the case of Wojciech Jaruzelski who was rejected by only 5.9 percent of the respondents. The name of the former leader of Solidarity was included on this list and there was noted a drop in the number of persons who supported him as well as a higher percentage of people who expressed indecision or did not recognize the name. This demonstrates this diminishing influence that underground activity has on the consciousness of the average Pole.

In a similar manner, faith in the underground Solidarity movement has also dropped. In 1984, some 5.7 percent of respondents expressed support while one year later, that figure had dropped to just 3.2 percent. Most of the supporters are young urban people without any union membership.

The poll also included the name of an entirely fictitious person [Malewski] as a means of determining whether or not respondents were giving a positive response to all or nearly all of the questions. It was found that barely 8 percent gave a response about this fictitious name, another 9 percent gave the safe answer of "cannot say" while 83 percent openly answered "do not know who this is". In spite of the preponderance of "agreers" noted in many other sociological polls, "Opinions of Poles -- Autumn '85" showed that a large majority of people did not support the fictional Malewski.

Our ideas about economics are somewhat magic-oriented. This was seen in the attitudes toward proposed changes to the principles of economic life. The question was: "Much is being said about changes to the economic management and social and political life of the country. Below is a list of various principles on which life in Poland could be based at this time. To what extent do you agree with them?".

Here are some of the results. In 1980, 70.6 percent of the respondents were in favor of limiting the income of the most affluent persons while 5 years later, that figure dropped to 29.2 percent. In 1980, 68.6 percent were in favor of having inefficient workers dismissed from their jobs and at the present time, only 40 percent support that concept. However, there was also a drop in the number of respondents that strongly support a full employment policy and the figures were 50.6 percent in 1980 and 24.4 percent in 1985.

12261

CSO: 2600/463

KATOWICE NOTES RISE IN YOUTH CRIME

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by [J.R.]: "Public Health Important in Fighting Pathology -- Rise in Youth Crime"]

[Text] In 1986, Katowice was one of the 10 provinces in which a rise in crime was noted. However, these statistics must be examined from more than one side. It is above all true that the increase in the number of crimes has been caused by the rise of population in Katowice Province and it must also be pointed out that the rate of detection has improved.

Last year, the police initiated 37,680 criminal proceedings which is an increase of 2.6 percent over 1985. There was an increase in the number of personal assaults, thefts, break-ins, economic crimes and crimes against the family. Meanwhile, there was a drop in the number of murders, rapes and certain types of theft.

Every fifth criminal was found to be unemployed in either work or studies. Likewise, every fifth criminal already had an arrest record and one-third of all persons arrested for crimes were problem drinkers. There has been an alarming rise in the rate of youth crime. The 4070 crimes committed by youth in Katowice Province in 1985 rose to 7800 in 1986. These figures show that unfortunately, little in crime control has changed however, it must be clearly pointed out that the public is doing a great deal to assist law enforcement. Unfortunately, the effects are far from satisfactory. This fact was stated at yesterday's meeting of the Provincial Coordination Section for Law Enforcement and Public Order by Public Prosecutor Ryszard Kowalczyk and Col. Marian Okrutny, the deputy director for the Katowice Provincial Internal Affairs Bureau.

Last year, all of Katowice Province's courts reviewed a total of 162,285 cases, 21,285 of which were criminal cases. 53,107 of these cases involved domestic problems and that amounts to a two-percent increase over 1985.

"The rise in crimes against the family and youth crime is a very painful phenomenon," said the chairman of the Katowice Provincial Court, Zenon Kopinski. "Therefore, we must obtain the help of scientists to get at the root of this problem and overcome and eliminate harmful social problems".

The province's misdemeanor collegia received 10,000 more cases than in 1985. The majority of these cases concerned violations of public order.

At the same time, speculation in Katowice Province has dropped. This does not at all mean that PIH [State Trade Inspectorate] inspectors are standing idle. Last year, they conducted 1460 investigations, 90 percent of which occurred at retail establishments and restaurants. The most frequently-detected violations involved intentional reduction of the quality and weight (in grams) of dishes served in dining establishments and the hiding of goods in shops. The misdemeanor collegia received a total of 889 complaints about such practices.

Andrzej Kolacz, a member of the Katowice Provincial PZPR Committee Secretariat and director of its Social and Legal Department,, Vice-Governor Jozef Piszczek and Brigadier General Ryszard Szuster, director of the Provincial Internal Affairs Bureau, also participated in yesterday's meeting of the Coordinating Section.

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PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR 'ANTI-PATHOLOGY' EFFORTS NEEDED

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 6 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by [ak]: "Nowy Sacz -- Public Participation Indispensable to the Crime Control"]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday, representatives of the government's Committee On Law Enforcement, Public Order and Social Discipline met in Nowy Sacz with representatives of the directors of Nowy Sacz provincial bureaus, the prosecutor's office, the courts, army and other institutions guarding the observance of law and public order. Division General Lucjan Czubinski, vice-minister of internal affairs and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee, was also present.

The ministerial took the nature of a poll concerning various regional government offices and several departments of the provincial government. The section that visited Nowy Sacz determined that the crime control program in the province has been correctly popularized and constitutes a canvas of the local schedules for these activities. It is still too early to say anything about results but there is already some sign that the situation has improved. For several months, the number of crimes in the region of the provincial capitol has dropped but alcoholism and the poor sanitary state of the city remain serious problems. The number of "good-for-nothings" has also dropped. Work discipline has improved. The work of the commission on speculation control has already had tangible results.

However, there is still too little public support in the fight against sources of pathology and youth and youth organizations have barely participated at all. The chief burden of responsibility for public order most often falls on Civilian Militia officials.

General Czubinski informed those present at the meeting about the situation in law enforcement and social norms in Poland.

The meeting was chaired by Governor Antoni Raczka. Nowy Sacz Provincial PZPR Committee Secretary Ludwik Kaminski, Chairman of the Provincial PZPR Control

and Review Commission Grzegorz Jawor and Member of the Provincial PZPR Committee Executive Board and Director of the Provincial Internal Affairs Bureau Col. Jerzy Grodecki were also present.

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'RESOCIALIZATION' DURING DETENTION REVIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by [w1]: "Resocialization in Penal Establishments"]

[Text] (Own information) Penal establishments, their inmate resocialization work and post-release were discussed by Sejm deputies at the 21 January meeting of the Sejm Commission on Administration, Internal Affairs and Justice. Prior to this meeting, the deputies tried to become more closely acquainted with these problems when they visited penal establishments in April 1986 and January 1987. The chairman of the Sejm sections that had visited these establishments presented their observations and recommendations to the Wednesday meeting. The deputies also heard prison information presented by Tadeusz Skora, the vice-minister of justice, and General Stanislaw Jablonowski, general director of the justice ministry and director of the prison system.

Poland has a total of 221 prisons including 149 penal establishments and investigative detention centers. At the end of the first half of last year, these establishments held more than 114,000 prisoners. The amnesty of 17 July 1986 considerably lowered this number by releasing 15,664 persons.

The medical facilities of the prison system were expanded during this period. At the present time, the prison system has 14 hospitals with a total patient capacity of 1600.

In General Jablonowski's opinion, a more stable penal policy would contribute much to a general improvement in the situation of our country's prisons. Good resocialization is not promoted by extensive campaigns but by steady and consistent work. Good experiences by prisoner work-release outside of prisons and under conditions of conditional freedom have shown that wider use can be made of methods other than imprisonment such as probation or restrictions.

This idea was strongly developed by deputies who spoke out in favor of limiting the use of prison sentences in favor of nonisolational punishment.

During several hours of discussion which also including issues such as imprisonment of women (which in turn included the especially controversial issue of female inmates giving birth to children while incarcerated) and youth, classification of convicts, the attitude of prison officials and the use of temporary detainment, many of the deputies also spoke the problem of convicts, saying that many prisoners have committed very serious crimes that have hurt other people and cannot therefore enjoy the same privileges as law-abiding citizens and for that reason, prisons cannot function as sanatoriums.

The commission meeting was chaired by Deputy Edmund Skoczylas (PZPR) and was also attended by representatives of the General Prosecutor, the Supreme Chamber of Control, PKPS, the Polish Lawyer's Association, Internal Affairs Ministry, National Directorate of the Citizen's Militia, MPPISS and URM.

The deputies Wacław Wojciechowski (PZPR), Eugeniusz Czykwin (Christian Social Union), Anna Staruch (PZPR), Stanisław Zelichowski (ZSL), Zofia Kaczora (nonpartisan), Mieczysław Bandurka (SD), Józefa Palmowska (PZPR), Wacław Dudek (PZPR), Helena Galus (nonpartisan) and Jerzy Wojciak (SD) also took part in the discussions.

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